

A National/International Political organ fighting for the oppressed Black Masses from the Americas to Africa

# ARM THE MASSES

"the era of the Masses, people's power which places all authority, wealth and arms in the hands of the People"



A Publication of the December 12th Movement

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DECEMBER 12TH MOVEMENT: 1993/1994

## UNITY

*Revolutionary Nationalism  
And Internationalism*



### African Burial Ground

Closed in 1794, the African Burial Ground once covered more than five acres—about five city blocks. It is estimated that as many as 20,000 or more African men, women and children were buried in original cemetery. Unearthed during building construction in 1991, the site is now a National Historic Landmark and within the New York City African Burial Ground and Commons Historic District. Surviving remains of the burial ground is dedicated to the memory of those who were buried here and will be enshrined in the city's early history from 1625 until the day of Emancipation Day in New York.

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# -ARM THE MASSES

**What we believe:**

*Revolutionary nationalism and socialism for the Black Nation, forty million Africans captured inside the racist, capitalist USA. The Black Nation is constituted by a distinct history and psychology shaped by racial and national oppression of its people and their resistance to national oppression; a historically-developed land-base concentrated in the southern USA; a common language shaped with its own cultural idiom; a common economic way of life, underdeveloped due to racism. Africans are mainly wage-slaves to capitalism who will never control the means of production, but all are subject to racist exploitation across class lines. The struggle of Africans inside the USA is a human rights struggle for self-determination, national liberation and the freedom to control African people's destiny free of Racism, Capitalism, and Imperialism.*

**FREEDOM OR DEATH!**

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# No Justice!

legal news and analysis



## LAW & ORDER 1993

by Raheem Williams

Dirty Harry Callahan, as portrayed by Clint Eastwood, was the cop's cop. He would do whatever he had to to detain a suspect, even if it meant killing him. The U.S. Constitution was simply a minor hurdle in the pursuit of his version of justice. And what did it matter if sometimes he got the wrong man. All in a day's work. Black folks watched and applauded the Dirty Harry movies. "Entertainment" blinded us to the fact that, in his single-minded disregard for human and civil rights, Dirty Harry personified the police state.

Dirty Harry has just been elected Mayor of New York City. As the high profile United States Attorney for the Southern District, Adolph [aka Rudolph] Giuliani reigned supreme in New York City during the Reagan Administration. He was Mr. Crimefighter, a cop in lawyer's clothing. What did it matter that, years later, many of his celebrated convictions were reversed on appeal.

In November, 1993, running as a white Republican in an overwhelmingly democratic, predominantly people-of-color city, Adolph won the mayoral election against Black incumbent Mayor David Dinkins. He won by playing on the white populace's "fear of crime." He was going to take back the streets from the criminals. White people's "fear of crime" is just a racist euphemism for fear of Blacks and Latinos, since most of the crime in New York City is committed in poor, Black and Latino neighborhoods by poor Black and

Latino people against poor Black and Latino people. "Taking back the streets from the criminals" is another code that means "we're going to give New York back to white people."

Adolph Giuliani's election holds national and international significance because of the City he won in and the platform he won on. His victory has pushed the political mood further to the right. Office seekers around the country sense that in order to win they will have to pander to the forces of "law and order." [Remember that code word from the 1960s?]. The national expression of this conservative, neo-fascist trend can be seen in the proposals concerning a new Federal Anti-Crime bill. Those of you readers of this column who suffer under the illusion that "since I'm not a criminal, I don't have to worry about a conservative crime bill," need to keep reading, because in the United States of America, your skin color, is your prison garb - guilty, until proven innocent.

Currently the US Congress is considering new anti-crime legislation. The House of Representatives, responding to a groundswell of criticism about the need for openness, postponed consideration of its bill until public hearings could be held. In the meantime, it passed the Brady bill, requiring a 5-day waiting period for handgun purposes and provided funds for 50,000 more police officers. The elitist and more imperious Senate, less constrained by the facade of democratic processes, has been considering an omnibus crime bill which has many

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## National Review

**BLACK YOUTH**

**Victims of a government conspiracy to criminalize them.**  
The youngest victims of crime, violence and drugs face a greater challenge in their day to day existence as more cities try to meet the crisis of violence they have created with more force, aggressive policing and incarceration.

**The Appeal to Law and Order Will Not Solve The Crisis of Crime and Violence**

by Ron Daniels

By all accounts crime and violence was a major issue all across the country in the November 2 election. Even the overall crime rate declined by as much as 15 percent in cities like New York, there is the perception that the quality of life is rapidly deteriorating in the US.

The dramatic escalation of homicides coupled with the growing numbers of homeless people and panhandlers has many Americans

deeply worried. Indeed, in response to the number of murders in Washington, D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly petitioned President Clinton to grant permission to call out the National Guard to patrol the neighborhoods of the nation's capital. With crime and violence topping the agenda of many Americans there is little wonder that law and order candidates fared well in the November 2 election. Promises of more police, aggressive policing and prosecution of

**"Free Market" Welfare**

by Raheem Williams

As the US' economic crisis deepens, we will be seeing more and more evidence of no-frills, cold-blooded capitalism. Wisconsin provides us with the latest example. In an effort to save money, Wisconsin is instituting an experiment in two counties that will allow people to collect welfare benefits for two years, at the end of which time all benefits will be cut off. By that time the former welfare recipients, who will have had, at most, one year of job training, are supposed to have found a job.

According to Wisconsin Governor Tommy Thompson, who was forced to somewhat modify his program in order to obtain Federal waivers, "[T]hey [the Federal Govt] were looking for a little more protection. We said, "No, we want this to be a mirror example of what you do in the marketplace." In other words, if you don't find a job, tough luck. No cash assistance for another three years.

After the first year of training, welfare recipients will spend the second working off their benefits in public or private jobs.

Advocates for the poor around the country have attacked the Wisconsin program because of the

harmful effects it will have on children whose parents cannot find jobs and will be ineligible for benefits. They predict increases in homelessness as well as other hardships. President Clinton will soon unveil a similar but somewhat milder program that provides more benefits for those recipients faced with the realities of an unforgiving and tight job market.

But whether its Wisconsin's iron fist or Clinton's velvet glove, the fundamental fact remains that this is a society possessed of tremendous wealth but one which is unable to provide gainful employment for those who want to work and will not take care of those who can't find work. It is only a matter of time until some version of the Wisconsin plan will become the norm in states all over the US. This country has no surplus money to invest in the maintenance of those who create no profit.

The questions we must ask ourselves is who has and controls that tremendous wealth?

**Prison Boot Camps**

Prison Boot Camps have been established in 30 states around the country. New York has the largest population with 1,500 beds, however the number of prisoners in Georgia, Oklahoma, Michigan, Texas, and Maryland programs continues to grow. This "new" form of incarceration was designed to be an alternative to traditional prison, especially targeted toward youthful offenders. What does life in a Boot Camp consist of?

Upon entering, a new recruit is required to have his head shaved. In the case of females, who are located in 10 of the camps, they are permitted short haircuts. The "new soldiers" are wakened at pre-dawn for reveille to begin their 10- to 16- hours a day of scheduled activities. Prior to breakfast there is a 1- to 2-hour drill session. After breakfast, which is carried out in absolute silence, the work day begins with hard physical labor for 6- to 8- hours, to be followed by more vigorous exercise. Any infraction of the rules results in punishment or dismissal.

This new form of incarceration is designed to change the behavior patterns of the individual. The stated purpose is to transform "criminal" behavior, but the end product is someone trained to do whatever he/she is told to do, no questions asked. There can not be a disobedient prisoner - or should we say soldier. Where is this all headed?

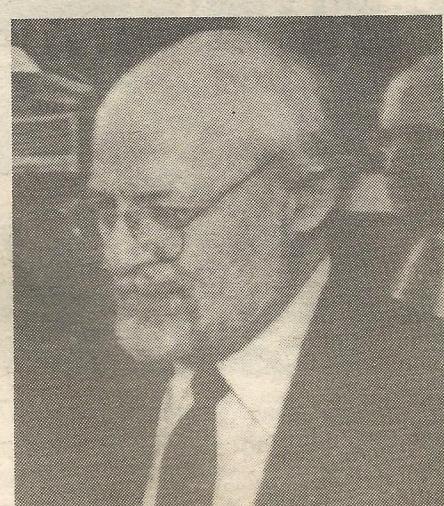
There is a certain kind of training that is required to carry

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**Election in New Jersey - Charges of Bribery**

by Glennes Bryant

Last month after the New Jersey voters elected Republican Christine Todd Whitman to the governor's seat, her campaign strategist Ed Rollins attempted to slander the African community, its churches and ministers. Rollins boasted that he made payments of \$500,000 to some ministers - (god only knows who) - to suppress Black voter turnouts. He then recanted and said he lied; that at no time did he authorize payments of any kind to any Black church. He stated that efforts were made to get Black ministers to support the campaign and that he was informed by a campaign aide that Democratic incumbent Jim Florio's representatives were pressuring Black clergy by threatening to cut off state aide for



Ed Rollins

church programs. Rollins claims that he "just wanted to help them." As if they, the ministers and the church congregation need any help from Mr. Rollins. Under oath Rollins said he lied about the entire

incident, stating, "I don't know of anybody who went into any Black church and did this."

The Democratic Party filed a lawsuit seeking to overturn the election results, charging that the Republican Party "implemented a racially discriminatory strategy to manipulate the outcome." As if this were the only racially discriminatory campaign... is there any other kind!

This is but another assault on our culture and community, for Black folks the Church represented the strength of the family and a place of comfort, a port of refugee. For Ed Rollins to be so disrespectful and blatantly lie - he has not up until today identified anyone - is to commit treason against Black life. He is an enemy to us and we must expose him and all those like him!

## International

# US Attacks North Korea Again

by Robert Taylor

Clinton and the US government are trying to persuade public opinion against North Korea. North Korea, still a member of the socialist camp, is trying to improve the quality of its citizens' lives by developing nuclear power plants. North Korea has the technology and will to venture into nuclear power to offset the existing trade difficulties with the capitalist world. For the North Koreans, it is becoming increasingly hard to obtain oil and replacement parts for its industry so they can feed and clothe their people. Since

kicking out the Japanese during World War II and in 1950 the US, North Korea has been building up the country. The western capitalists have played a minimal role in that process.

The UN through the coaxing of South Korea, Japan and the US wants investigators to go into North Korea to see if they are producing nuclear weapons. North Korea, being part of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, said it would pull out if those countries step up their harassment by sending in the

CIA posing as investigators to their country.

The US has more nuclear weapons than any other country in the world. It uses that edge to bully and exploit the world over. It is harder to bully countries that have developed nuclear weapons, however. If the case in North Korea is that they want to develop nuclear weapons, their history has said that they only want to defend themselves. But unlike the US, North Korea instead wants to develop nuclear science for the benefit of its people. Unlike the

US, North Korea plans its power sources, meaning getting places for wastes that do not harm the people in the country and if it's not possible, then they will not use it.

Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the US has been bullying socialist countries like Cuba and North Korea, trying to strangle them economically. The communist party of North Korea and the masses of people there are one. They will struggle on any level once they are denied the right to development and having a decent quality of life.

## 7th Pan African Congress Rescheduled for April 1994

The historic 7th Pan African Congress, scheduled to be held in Kampala, Uganda from December 12th through December 16th, 1993 was postponed to April 1994 due to logistic problems. In the spirit of Pan African Unity, the December 12th Movement urges all interested parties to take this delay as an opportunity to organize more people to attend the 7th Pan African Congress.

## Why We Are at the 7th Pan Africanist Congress

### Introduction

The December 12th Movement comes to the 7th PAC as a representative of the 40,000,000 Africans held captive inside the borders of the United States. Despite repeated pronouncements of racial progress and the achievements of some individuals, people of African descent in the United States are still oppressed. In every sphere of life - political, civil, economic, social, cultural - the relation of Black folks to the white population is like that of Jamaica to the US, i.e. of a developing country to an economically developed one. Africans, by all objective indicators, represent an oppressed nation within the US.

We come to the 7th PAC because we are an African people who have

historically recognized and fulfilled our responsibility to fight for the freedom of African and Africans throughout the Diaspora. Many of us were at the 6th PAC in Tanzania in 1974 and see this 7th Congress as an historic opportunity for African people to determine our destiny by charting "Which Way Forward" as we enter the 21st Century.

### December 12th Movement - A Brief History

The December 12th Movement (DTM), although celebrating only its sixth anniversary at this opening of 7th PAC, has a rich history of struggle which predates its formal founding in 1987 and reflects the many currents of the Black Liberation Movement.

We are a broad-based organization of African people that

## AGENT ORANGE STILL MAIMING PEOPLE

Reprinted from *The Daily Challenge*, November 12-14, 1993

Hanoi, Vietnam - Agent Orange defoliant sprayed on Southern Vietnam by US forces during the war more than 20 years ago is still causing cancers, deformed babies and skin defects, Vietnamese doctors said recently.

*We estimate that maybe several tens of millions of people... were affected.*

Announcing an international symposium to be held here next week on the long-term effects of herbicides, they said there was no longer any doubt about the harmful effects of Agent Orange and dioxin, a toxic ingredient of the defoliant.

The researchers said US troops fighting North Vietnam-led communist forces sprayed 72 million liters of Agent Orange and other defoliants over southern Vietnam and parts of Laos and Cambodia in "Operation Ranch-

hand" from 1961 to 1971.

The aim was to destroy the jungle cover of Communist soldiers sniping at US and South Vietnamese Army troops and supply lines like the north-south Ho Chi Minh Trail through eastern Laos and Cambodia.

Professor Hoang Dinh Cau, chairman of the national committee which monitors the effects of

defoliants, told a news conference the people of southern Vietnam were more widely affected than US soldiers who spent only a year in the war zone.

"Almost all the population of South Vietnam are more or less damaged," he said. "We estimate that maybe several tens of millions of people - I don't have an exact number - were affected."

Medical problems attributable to the US defoliants included cancers

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## China Rally Raps Drugs, 20 Executed

Reuter

Beijing - One hundred Chinese drug offenders were excoriated at a mass anti-drug rally in the southern city of Kunming and 20 were promptly executed to prove the city's determination to fight a rising tide of narcotics abuse, according to an official newspaper seen yesterday.

The 20 were marched out of Kunming's Dongfeng stadium on October 26 after senior police, government and court officials announced the death sentences.

Kunming is the capital of southern Yunnan province, part of Southeast Asia's Golden Triangle - with Thailand and Burma - and the nexus of China's growing problems with drug trafficking and abuse.

A major part of the opium and heroin that flows into China enters through Yunnan.

Mayor Wang Tingchen told the stadium audience mass rally that city officials were determined to continue fighting drug offenders at home and their overseas connections.



came into existence in 1987 in response to a series of attacks by white racist law enforcement personnel and white civilian mobs against Black and Latino men and

women across New York State. A statewide demonstration against racism attended by thousands of people was organized in Newburgh,

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## New York, New York

## Mayoral Race Reviewed

by Omowale Clay

As we near the installation of Rudolph (Adolph) Giuliani as Mayor of New York City, a more critical look at the 1993 election results brings us to some disturbing, but pervasive conclusions.

In the 1989 mayoral race 60% of registered Black voters turned out to vote as compared to 58% of white voters. However in 1993 only 56% of Black voters versus 58% of white registered Democratic voters turned out.

Some political experts have concluded that this 3.03% fall off in Black voter turn out could have made the difference in winning or losing an election which saw only 40,000 votes as the margin of victory. Dr. Luther Blake of Blake Associates, a local political consultant, commenting in the *Amsterdam News*, pointed out there were 2,000 less voters in 13 Black assembly districts, a loss of about 26,000 Black votes. He added that "this does not take into account Black votes [lost] in assembly districts which are not [majority] Black." Finally, Dr. Blake pointed out that Dinkins support in the Latino community fell from 66% to 61% of those voting from 1989 to 1993.

## Dinkins Lost '93 Mayoral Race

If one follows the numbers to their logical conclusions, ex-Mayor David Dinkins lost the mayor's office - Giuliani didn't win.

It's true that Giuliani almost doubled white voter turn out in Staten Island in 1993. However, the increase of over 30,000 votes in Staten Island could have been offset in the Black and Latino communities with a moderate increase over 1989 voter turn out.

In the final analysis, not a

single white voting district went for Dinkins in 1993 - no different than in 1989. This time out however, Giuliani increased the turn out in his base, and Dinkins diminished his own.

## Dinkins vs. Black Power

Dinkins and his loyal campaign manager Bill Lynch looked at all the facts over the last four years of his administration and came to all the wrong conclusions, or at least based their campaign on a fundamentally flawed historical view of Dinkins as a Black leader.

Edward Koch, the former mayor of NYC, did more to agitate a large Black voter turn out effort towards his defeat, then Dinkins did towards his own victory. This political motion coupled with the idea of NYC having its first Black mayor, took Dinkins over the top.

However, David Dinkins never identified with the masses of Black people in NYC, or represented decisive leadership on their behalf. It was always apparent that Dinkins demonstrated more hostility and anger towards Black empowerment (Black Power) efforts than support.

The following four events are illustrative of how David Dinkins has mislead Black people and continued to be a loyal servant to the political interest of New York City's financiers.

## Howard Beach

During the entire campaign to get justice for Michael Griffith, killed by a white racist mob in Howard Beach, Brooklyn in 1986, David Dinkins never demonstrated any outrage or independent leadership other than what Gov. Mario Cuomo told him to do politically.

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## Adolph Giuliani's Election

by Abdul Haqq

For the 4th day after the election the bulk of the election coverage focuses on Giuliani's message of trick phony friendship toward African people. Everyday this has been the 12th news item. What does it mean? It means that the new ruling regime recognizes and fears the political potential of Africans who understand the realities of New York politics. They intuitively understand the unstable nature of their rule as Giuliani's inevitable tendency will be to inflame a mass negation of the

legitimacy of the police state. Authority rests on the conception of legitimacy and the use of coercive force is the most closely watched aspect in determining legitimacy. The policeman Giuliani sharply symbolizes the coercive force of the police, courts, prisons and military and it is exactly in these areas that he cannot fail to generate the anti sentiments and politics that will make New York ungovernable. The obvious racism in the election makes all this more hateful.

Sun Zu said in the *Art of War* that the height of generalship is to

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## NEW RIOT CONTROL



by Glennes Bryant

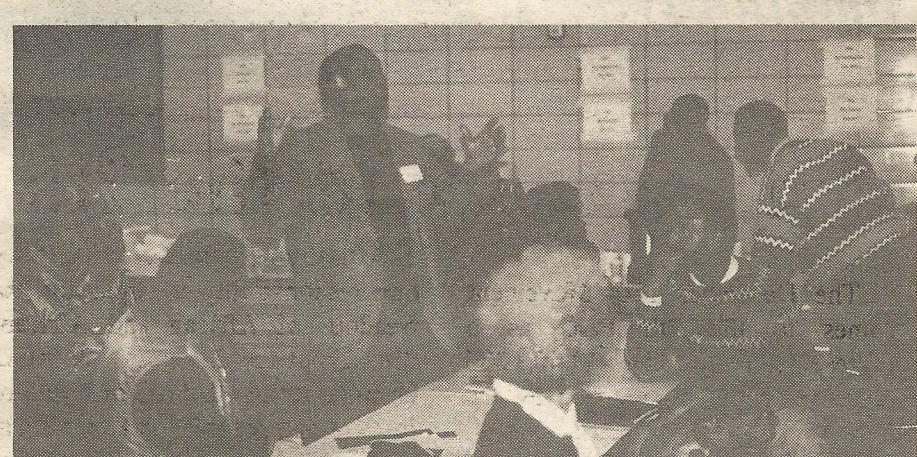
Picture this: NYPD takes control. Recent headlines in one newspaper reported that "New York's Finest" (finest thugs, finest drug dealers, finest criminals) are taking control. Surely not of themselves, but of the streets, where Black folks live. Shouldn't they have worded it: "Put more fear in the Black community." We know we do not control our streets! Who do they think they're kidding. Just some of their chicanery to introduce more terror into the lives of Black folks and to continue to keep their police state alive.

At a three hour buffoon show at City Hall recently, the City Council listened to the NYC (New York Criminal) police department bullies throw their weight around, rambling on about how they must defend

their streets from the rioters, snipers and unruly crowds of Crown Heights and Los Angeles, how the use of such equipment as pepper spray, smoke grenades, fireproof jumpsuits, army-issue Gas masks, easier to handle riot shielding, net barriers for the crowds would control these "riots". Mayor-elect Adolf Giuliani loudly cheered the new guidelines proposed.

Keep reading, it gets better. In the past year the department has already spent thousands of dollars on what they call "beefing up riot control equipment" including flame retardant suits and gloves, mesh-net walls to replace wooden barriers, black netting to protect glass on police vans, army surplus ambulances and converted them into roving command centers, and the

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## Black Power Convention Planning Meeting

by Glennes Bryant

In an historical Black Power Convention Planning meeting, the community and various organizations including the December 12th Movement, strategically planned for a Nationalist Grassroots Power Convention. The focus of the meeting was the five workshops which will be the Agenda of the convention on February 18th through February 21st, 1994, dealing with: Repatriation;

Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War; Education and Community Control; Reparations and Self-Determination: the Political Economy of the Black Community; the Crack/Drug Conspiracy by the Criminal Justice System; and Electoral Politics: Which Way Forward. For the next two months the workshop committees will continue to urge our readers and supporters to get involved in the planning of this very important event.

## Today's Youth, Tomorrow's Revolution

**OLD SCHOOL JAM! In Memory of Our Homies....**

by Erica Ford

It was in Memory of the Homies. The time had come to look back - so man soldiers taken away. The life on the streets, what's the reward? How many more deaths can our Nation afford.

Sleepy, P. Ron, Self, Smitty, Richard, Ron and Clyde, you called this a game, as your mothers stand by and cry, never understanding why their sons had to die.

On November 19th we came together to represent, to pay respect to those we lost to the streets, but even more so now, we must come together and stop this list from growing. Senseless killings must stop and that can only come from above. Those older brothers and sisters must begin to take control of our streets. We are our brothers' keepers and we must begin to carry that out in a real sense.

Amiesha, Big Red, Pratt, Tinker, Saloo, Reggie, Dougie, Leslie and PooPa, their dreams and aspirations will not flourish again. In memory of all of them let's regroup, let's come together and build a future for their children, our children, all children.

The enemies objective is to continue the killings, continue building the jails. But we're stronger; we're smarter, and we will win back our streets.

So to the brothers and sisters

**Remembering Our Youth, Recapturing Our Community!**

by Glennes Bryant

On December 28th, 1993, a vigil will be held at City College to remember the nine youth killed at a rap concert at the school in December 1991. A committee of parents, City College teachers and students and community people is marking the nine tragic deaths this year so we do not forget our old losses in the overwhelming tide of violence. The nine young people were trampled to death while trying to get into a rap concert when a panic started and everyone tried to rush towards the entry.

City College teacher Jeanne Ollivierre, who helped organize the first memorial for the students, is also involved in helping to coordinate this event. "We must take responsibility for what happens in our community, for changing the conditions we live under," she said recently.

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**OLD SCHOOL JAM**  
*In Memory*

**Of Our Homies**

The time has come for us to take a look back

**Remember Encore**  
**Tuesday Nights**  
**The Jams In The Park**

Join us as we go back

**Friday, Nov. 19th**  
11 P.M. - 4 A.M.

**Marcus Hall**  
219th & Linden Blvd.  
\$10 in Advance

**D.J. Divine & Kendo of Infinity Machine**

Info: Call Erica (718) 712-5447  
All proceeds donated to the Masses United for Human Rights  
NO JEANS • NO SNEAKERS

**Richard Ronald Rome Keith-Kater**  
**Old Man Reggie Dougie Man Leslie Chinese Bobby Nice Prince Wilbert Mike Rochester Doc Richard Luke Jeddie Niece Dre Red**

who have gone away, you came from us and we will never forget you.

To the brothers and sisters behind the wall, look at this list and take a deeper look at what you call the game - who wins, who loses.

To the brothers and sisters on the street, we got work to do. To the ojs, the Council is coming, we must redefine the game.

*Whose Streets, Our Streets  
Close the Crackhouse  
Stop the Killing!*

by Amadi I. Ajamu

The Masses United for Human Rights held an "OLD SCHOOL JAM! In Memory of Our Homies..." on November 19th, 1993, as a continuation of the *Celebrate Black Culture - Stop the Killing* Campaign. We commemorated our young Brothers and Sisters who have fallen victim to the retrograde trend of violence in our streets and we celebrated Black Culture as it is expressed through our talented DJ's and MC's from the old school, back in the day.

Our objective was to heighten the consciousness of our young people in terms of our own responsibility in defending our culture and ourselves. Practically all of our people have had a loved one or friend fall victim to the violence in our communities. We decided to create a progressive alternative for our young people and provide an atmosphere of respect and unity, as well as a celebration in our own language and from where we are.

The Masses United have been fighting on the front lines in defense of our people and our culture,

against the multi-billion dollar entertainment industry's declaration and acts of war on us. We also understand and address the internal contradictions in our Nation, in terms of the struggle with the backward and undeveloped element, who need guidance and leadership on the question of the demand for respect for Black People and our human right to cultural development.

The entertainment industry deliberately promotes the most retrograde element of our culture. "Entertainers" like gansta rappers Dr. Dre, Snoop Doggy Dog, 2 Live Crew, and comedians like Whoopi Goldberg and those lesser known on Def Comedy Jam and In Living Color, through their own ignorance and self interest, propagate anarchistic, criminal negativity and vulgar obscenity as the norm in the Black community and denigrate Black People and our struggle for liberation in the process. These "entertainers" must be held accountable for their collaboration with our oppressors, and their lack of integrity and principles.

This type of entertainment dictates public opinion and establishes an atmosphere where we find ourselves victims of human rights abuses such as the media's calculated manipulation of Black culture, police violence and the US criminal justice system's conspiracy against young Black Men in particular and Black People in general.

Therefore, it is absolutely necessary for us to set a new standard of leadership, particularly on the question of Black Culture and Black Youth. We must continue the struggle for the hearts and minds of young Black men and women, and find new and creative ways to strengthen our people at this critical point in our history. *Celebrate Black Culture and Stop the Killing!*

**THE BIG PAY BACK**  
**David Dinkins Goes to Columbia**

by Alkamal Jemmott

As Black people brace for Mayor Adolf Giuliani's administration, and the obvious hardships it will bring, former Mayor David Dinkins goes on to the good life of a huge pension and big salaried professorship at Columbia University.

Columbia University you said? Yes, Columbia! Black people under the leadership of the December 12th Movement spent three years battling Columbia University to save the Audubon Ballroom (where Malcolm X was assassinated in 1965) as a historic monument to our Shining Black Prince, and stop Columbia's planned bio-technology research center. We lost.

Columbia has torn down the Audubon Ballroom, and is under full speed to build the environmentally harmful (especially to people) bio-technology research center. This project got started by the investment of over \$18 million of precious public funds. A project whose acceptance was railroaded through complicated government oversight procedures under then Borough President and later Mayor David Dinkins.

David Dinkins could have stopped the destruction of the Audubon, but he sold out to the Rockefellers and Columbia University. What did David Dinkins get out of this deal? In January say hello Professor Dinkins.



## Political Prisoners



*Greetings to the political prisoners/  
prisoners of war in Leavenworth, Kansas!  
Edwin Cortes, Leonard Peltier, Jaan Laaman, Sundiata Acoli  
Freedom Fighters!*

### **Sundiata Acoli Parole Hearing Update**

**Correction:** The information previously printed concerning Sundiata's parole decision was incorrect. Below is a letter that explains his situation. We encourage our readers to send this letter in support of Sundiata. We apologize to Sundiata and our readers for the error.

To: The New Jersey State Parole Board, CN 862, Trenton, New Jersey 08625  
Tel. (609) 292-4257/fax: (609) 984-2190

To Whom It May Concern:

I am aware that Sundiata Acoli (NJ#54859) was not permitted to attend his recent Parole Hearing but was only allowed to participate via telephone from Leavenworth, Kansas; that he was denied parole over the phone, and that the Parole Board is now deliberating on whether to set him a future eligibility term of 10 years or more, which is vastly outside your normal guidelines.

The normal guidelines for such a case is 3 years or less: meaning that in 3 years or less the denied prisoner is eligible again to come up for a hearing before the Parole Board.

Sundiata Acoli has served over 20 years in prison under some of the harshest conditions imaginable. As a former member of the Black Panther Party, and in prison, Sundiata has contributed greatly to the struggle for human rights and liberation for all people. 20 years behind bars is enough! We strongly urge you to release him immediately.

Thank you.

Also send copy to: Sundiata Acoli Freedom Campaign, P.O. Box 5538, Manhattanville Station, Harlem, NY 10027

### **Update on Fred Hampton, Jr.**

This December marks the 24th anniversary of the FBI's assassination of Illinois Black Panther Party Chairman Fred Hampton. Not satisfied with murdering Fred Hampton, the State has carried on its vendetta against Fred Hampton, Jr., the son who was born three weeks after his father's death. ATM continues to keep our readers informed on Fred Hampton, Jr. who has carried on in the tradition of his father. Following is an update from the Fred Hampton, Jr. Defense Committee.

Fred Hampton, Jr. is locked down in Big Muddy Correctional Facility, facing an 18 year sentence for a crime he did not commit. Fred Hampton, Jr. was framed, and on May 19, 1993, was sentenced to 18 years for the alleged firebombing of a Korean merchant store in Chicago. The US government, the FBI and Chicago police had previously made several attempts to imprison and assassinate Fred Jr.. They used the

rebellions which broke out in Chicago as well as across the country after the Simi Valley verdict in L.A. as a pretext for falsely arresting Fred Jr., near his home on May 11, 1992 and charging him with bogus charges.

**Fred Jr. and other inmates went on a hunger strike to protest these attacks...**

As of September 15, 1993, the prison officials had isolated Fred Jr. from the general prison population and threats on his life by prison guards Lt. Oats and Sgt. Adams have intensified. Because of his political beliefs and work, the prison guards wrote him up on bogus violations. The penalties from these violations were to transfer him to a maximum security prison, 3 months visitational denial and three months down graded to C grade (which means no phone calls, privileges or visits.)

### **Abdul Haqq Parole Hearing**

Peace and love beautiful, powerful people! This is Abdul Haqq of the Black Men's movement Against Crack/ December 12th Movement. I've been incarcerated for 6 years now but I'm growing stronger in spirit, dedication and will to resist as time passes. In January of 1994 I will go before the Parole Board.

Up to this point every decision that my co-defendants and I (Arther Barnes and Robert Taylor who are presently on parole) have received from the system has been politically motivated and unjust. We were set up, busted and incriminated with false, illegal evidence because of our organizing activities and effective fight for freedom and human rights in the African and Latino communities.

The Black Men's Movement 3 appealed our convictions on the grounds of ineffective assistance of counsel pointing to our attorneys failure to file timely motions for a suppression hearing in a weapons possession case. As the evidence in a weapons possession case comprises the entire case, failure to file for a hearing to suppress the evidence, when the search was illegal, is the strongest possible grounds imaginable for reversal. Please refer to the Oct\Nov. issue of ATM (Evidence Tampering by NY State Troopers). Nonetheless, the Appellate Division affirmed our convictions. They argued that it was our strategy to intentionally be found guilty. The court said that this is the only way to explain why experienced trial lawyers would fail to file for a hearing to suppress the evidence when the evidence in question is the whole case.

\* The January parole hearing will deal with the second of two

consecutive 3 to 6 sentences; the charge is assaulting police officers during my arrest. The police, the court, the D.A. and Allah know that it was the police who attacked me.

\* The people's awareness of my parole hearing can be a factor for the system to consider. Power stands on the people's perception of the legitimacy of rulership and the powerful in this country tend to pretend to be just when they know the people are watching and weighing their judgments and decisions.

\* Beside the fact that I am in prison for something I didn't do - in fact for a crime the police committed against me, there are other reasons the board should free me. While in prison I worked in several re-socialization programs. I played leadership roles in two successful independent prisoner initiative on Rikers Island - The "Stop The Violence" campaign and the Youth Assistance Program. I've designed programs to prevent and stop drugs, crime and violence among our youth and adults. I am the editor of our Muslim Newsletter. I teach a class in Shariah (Islamic Law).

\* In August of 1994 I will earn my Bachelors degree with at least a 3.98 grade point average. My concentration is Interdisciplinary Synthesis for Theory, Strategy and Program Development. I intend to employ my education to advance the cause of truth, justice, and human rights.

\* My conduct record has been good over the past 6 years. There is no legal reason for the board to deny me.

Whatever the outcome I will continue to study hard to help our struggle succeed. I'd be sincerely grateful to my sisters and brothers if you will write letters to the parole board for me.

Address the letters to:

*January 1994 Parole Board  
Clinton Prison Main, Box 2001  
Dannemora, New York 12929-2001*



## Culture As A Weapon

## AFRICAN WOMEN AND PAN-AFRICANISM

by Olive Armstrong  
& Loretta Vaughn

Written for the 7th Pan African Congress, to be held in Kampala, Uganda in April 1994.

As we continue the struggle for self-determination within our separate national boundaries and for unity among our peoples throughout the Diaspora, we must never lose sight of injustices in our own house.

How shallow our victory would be if we successfully throw off the chains of racial oppression and allow the anvil of sexism to continue to enslave women. Of all of the vestiges of racism imposed on Africans throughout the Diaspora, and there are countless examples, none has been as insidious and destructive as the denigration of African women.

African women were the first humans on the planet. Through their extraordinary strength, they will likely be the last human beings on this planet. In between, they suffer more than any human beings on the planet.

The condition of African women today, both on the Continent and throughout the Diaspora, is a direct result of the impact of slavery and colonization.

On the Continent colonization had the dual effect of creating urban centers which drew disproportionate numbers of young males for labor in



mines and industrial facilities, while forcing women to remain in the rural villages. This virtually destroyed the traditional family structure, leaving women with farming and possibly handicrafts as the only jobs available. The only males left in the village were either too young or too old to work. Eventually, when it served the interests of the colonizers, women were allowed to migrate to the urban centers, however the family structure which ensued was not a traditional African structure. It was modified to suit the demands of the European conquerors.

Although African women, trading food and other goods, have played a significant role in the marketplace, there remain major roadblocks to their empowerment in

other areas.

In 1960, only 3 African countries provided a primary education to 50% of their women. Overall, less than 20% of African women on the Continent received such an opportunity. As recently as 1985, in Sierra Leone, only 9% of the women were literate, and the average life expectancy was only 33 1/3 years. Lack of clean water, sanitary facilities, health services and education have combined to overwhelm the majority of African women on the Continent.

Against these odds, African women have continued to make considerable progress towards liberation. In most countries women continue to dominate the commerce trades. In the absence of official government assistance in many

issues. These range from the Better Life Programme in Nigeria (founded by the First Lady Maryam Babangida in 1987), to TASO, a self-help group for those with AIDS, founded in 1987 by Noreen Kaleeba, and the EGBA Women's Trade Union in Nigeria. There are countless sisters whose names may never be known, who continue to organize and educate and struggle for self-determination.

We occasionally read about some African men who resisted this movement. It is rare that we learn of our heroic African Queens and Warriors.

We were Ahmose-Nefertere, Tiye and Nefertiti, Queens of Egypt.

We were Amanirenas, Queen of Cush, Queen Kahina of Tunisia,



cases, they have formed organizations to deal with their

Queens Judith of Ethiopia/Abyssinia, Nzingha of Angola, Sarrounia of Niger.

We were Mama Pansa of Surinam, Anna de Bengal of Mauritius, Nanny of Jamaica, Anne Helgard of the Virgin Islands, and Zeferina of Brazil.

We were Harriet Tubman in North America and Walloa of Tasmania. We were Mart Gabre-Tsadick in Ethiopia, Benedita da Silva in Brazil and Fannie Lou Hamer in North America.

We are freedom fighters from South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Zimbabwe. We are Winnie Mandela, Angela Davis and Assata Shakur.

In far too many struggles, when the battle is done and victory won, African women have been forgotten. When the former oppressors' boots have been removed from our throats, they have been replaced by the bare feet of African men.

In less than a year, for the first time in centuries, Africa will be ruled by Africans. As we throw off the vestiges of the foreign cultures imposed on us, and continue to resist colonization, we must commit to the true liberation of all of its sons and daughters.



## Happy 75th Birthday Joe Williams! Happy 6th Birthday Dec. 12th Movement!

by Louie Terrell

On December 12, 1918 Joseph (Goreed) Williams was born in Cerdele (Crisp County), Georgia.

At age 5 he arrived in Chicago. He taught himself piano as a child. Later, he attended the prestigious Englewood High School in Chicago, finishing second in his class.

Although he contracted tuberculosis at age 15, he overcame and managed to become an outstanding athlete, excelling as a boxer.

Paul Chisolm, a New York City music teacher who grew up in Chicago and was himself a tenor sax player said: "... Joe was a very bright student and he was so physically fit that he at one time worked as a bouncer at Chicago's Regal Theatre... Nobody wanted to mess with Joe... Joe could always sing anything: blues, ballads, gospel, opera."

Joe's professional development took the course of so many of our great performers who came to cities like Chicago, Memphis, Kansas



gospel groups, wedding and funeral ceremonies. This causes the spiritual, artistic and soulful roots to take deep anchor. And our great performers, such as these, come before us with transcending communicating power and uplift. This is how our people surmount white people's kitchens, the heat of the steel mills in Gary, Pittsburgh, Buffalo. Working long and closest to the smelting furnaces, where whites were often exempt.

Joe worked with the Red Saunders (drummer) band in Chicago in the 1930s. During the 30s and early 40s he toured with Les Hite, Coleman Hawkins and Lionel Hampton. During this era he and Lavern Baker were the house singers at Chicago's famed Club de Lisa, backed up by the Red Saunders band.

In 1946 he appeared with Andy Kirk at the Apollo Theatre in Harlem.

From about 1949 he appeared with the Count Basie septet at the Brass Rail in Chicago. From about 1954 to 1961 he toured extensively with the Basie Band doing clubs, concerts and Newport jazz festivals.

Joe's blues singing and natural style reflect the influence of Joe Turner, Jimmy Rushing and Witherspoon. Much of it, the urban blues shout of Kansas City, Missouri.

Leonard Feather (a white jazz critic) writing in *Downbeat* magazine in 1974, said that Joe Williams was one of the greatest all around singers of his era.

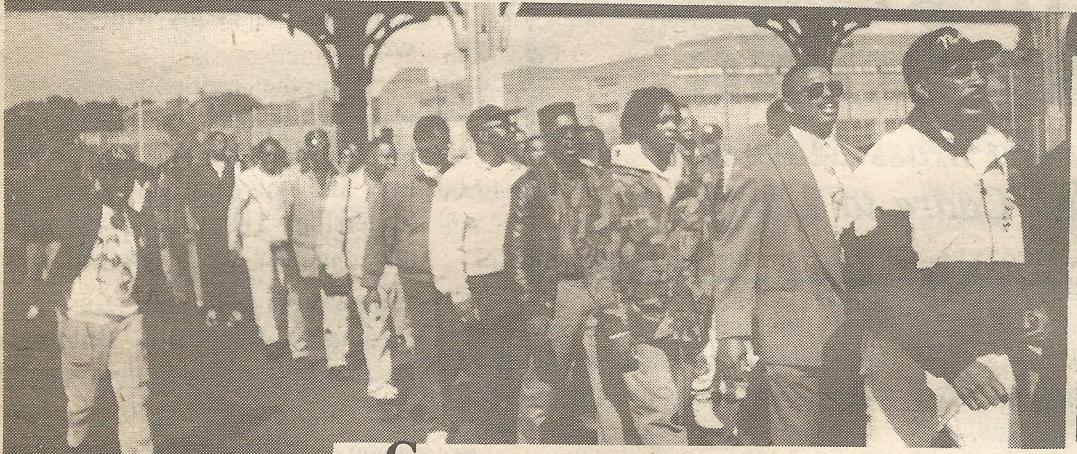
Joe's rendition of "Everyday I Have the Blues", backed by the Basie band, took his blues singing

cont. on page 18

## Harriet Tubman

# Toward the Objective of Building A National Liberation Front

*Statement in Support of Consolidation  
From New Afrikan POWs/Political Prisoners Housed at USP-Lewisburg*



Greetings and revolutionary solidarity from behind the colonial oppressor's walls.

Today it is significant that we have come together to show New Afrikan solidarity. We all have agreed for this need of unity, especially among our New Afrikan revolutionary forces. For too long, the need for solidarity among our New Afrikan forces has not been met.

We the political prisoners and pow's here in Lewisburg, want to add our voices to those who are now calling for a National Liberation Front. In this historical period, the need for collective struggle is being recognized and consolidated throughout the world. The anti-revolutionary and capitalist forces of the Western world continue to unify to keep the world's masses oppressed and the revolutionary forces repressed. As the seventh Pan-Afrikan Congress for consolidation and efforts for the struggle for land and independence for New Afrika.

We feel that we must use the force of our collective influence to ask that a front for the liberation of New Afrika be brought together to so that we can develop, as much as possible, a collective effort this beast prior to the 21st century.

Although many of us are strongly committed to the creation of New Afrika, we must honestly admit that the approaches of our organizations have simply become ineffective in generating mass struggle. Rethinking and reevaluation of our methods must be done if we are to survive as a revolutionary movement, as opposed to merely becoming a democratic organ which feeds off our masses to perpetuate its own existence.

Historically we feel that the time is right for consolidation efforts. Objectively, we can see the effects of COINTELPRO on our independence movement. We must understand and evaluate them because they have set us upon a course of discord which has prevented consolidation.

Ideological conflicts have been the basis of continuous contradictions, deterring consolidation. Now we have theoreticians who have confronted these ideological struggles which have plagued us, giving birth to theories which merge our conflicting views and their historical implications to our movement.

Subjectively, we have determined that what is most important is that the motivation for our actions has been for the freedom of New Afrika. Therefore, we all continue to learn and develop.

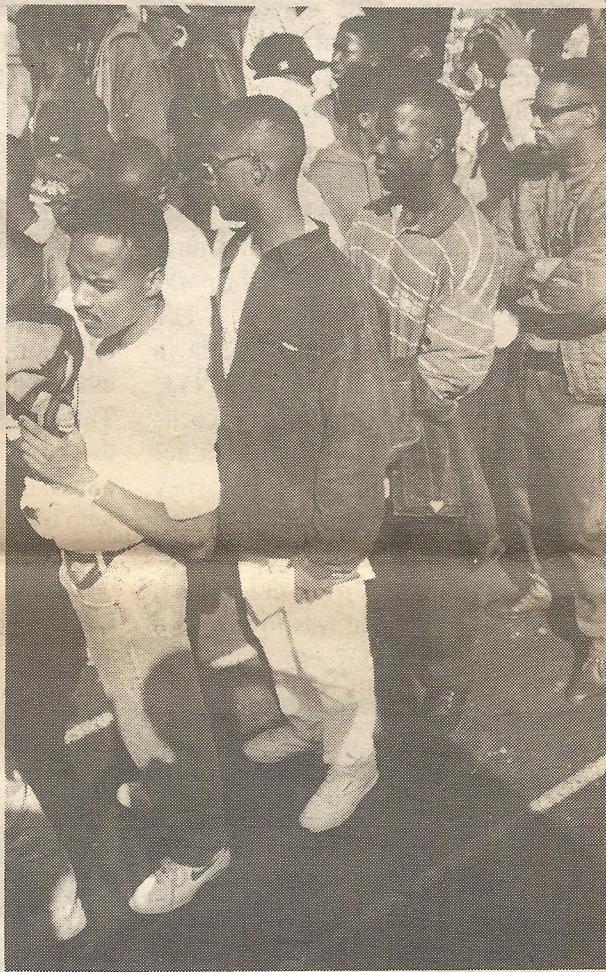
We must take stock of our conditions, organization and most importantly the state of our people. It must be those of us in the vanguard who have survived this ongoing war who must give direction to the new wave. We must teach the principles of solidarity. We must show in real terms the benefit of collective struggle. Our next wave must know what it means to have faith in the people and its collective leadership. We must unite, We must resist, We must build a front for the liberation of New Afrika. And We will survive!

*Free the Land!*

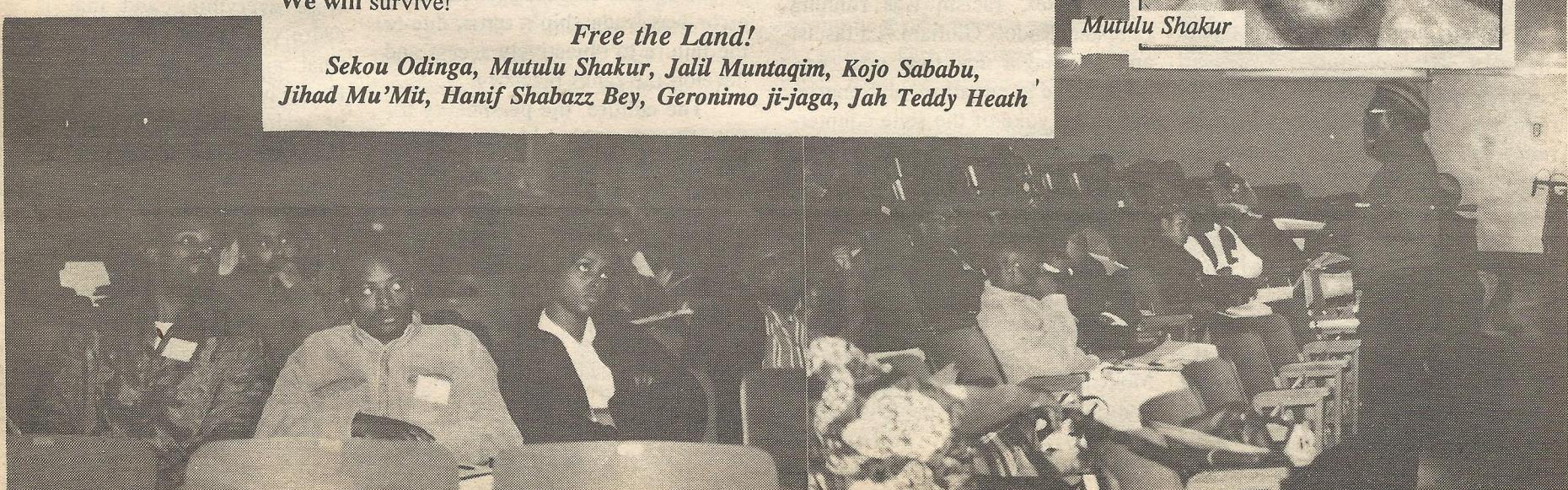
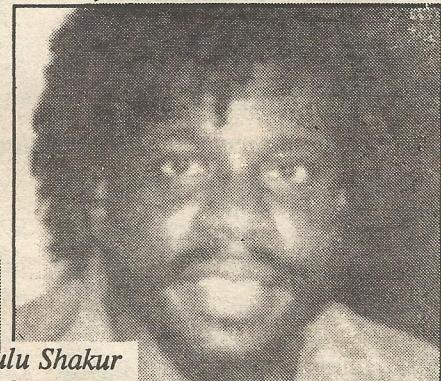
*Sekou Odinga, Mutulu Shakur, Jalil Muntaqim, Kojo Sababu,  
Jihad Mu'Mit, Hanif Shabazz Bey, Geronimo ji-jaga, Jah Teddy Heath*



Geronimo ji-jaga



Hanif Shabazz Bey



**ARM THE MASSES**

"the era of the Masses, people's power which places all authority, wealth and arms in the hands of the People"

The December 12th Movement was born out of the colonized masses in New York City militancy against racism, police brutality, KKK vigilantism, crack conspiracies, Tawana Brawley, and the day to day suffering and oppression of 2 million Africans and other oppressed nations. This is the sea of life and power for December 12th Movement. The leadership within the December 12th Movement saw the need to constantly mobilize and agitate this sea of dissidents to struggle for self-determination. Its objective was very specific. What was needed during the eighties was a (revolutionary mass movement) that could raise the question of nationalism to all Africans who were held captive in Amerikkka and build strategic unity with our natural allies, Africans from the Diaspora, the Caribbean and Africa. The tactic was to put on the agenda in 1986-87 that African people in NYC would not allow racist Mayor Koch; boot licking Police Commissioner Ben Ward and fascist US Attorney Rudolf Giuliani, the Joint Terrorist Task Force to use intimidation nor criminalization of the most oppressed. The goal was to raise the political consciousness of the



Formation of the December 12th Coalition in Newburgh, NY, Dec. 1987.

people, to teach them how to resist in the street, fighting back against the most brutal and sharpest issues of survival.

After the NY 8 victory in 1985, the NY 8 collective (Sunrise) rededicated themselves to revolutionary struggle. The tactic to return to the masses, to build, recruit new cadre was the priority. 1986, the Black Men's Movement was born, under the Black Men's Movement leadership evolved the December 12th Coalition, and ultimately the December 12th Movement. Under the leadership of the December 12th, who represented a united front of the most politically advanced nationalists and Pan Africanists in New York City. A movement was catching fire

awareness and their unity on the fundamental contradictions had to be challenged. We did not control our communities; racism was running rampant; Rudolf Giuliani is a fascist and as Mayor his first goal was going to be to put all revolutionaries under the yoke of the state counter-terrorist apparatus. The city police; city government and politicians, with Uncle Tom Negroes, "wolves in sheep's clothing", and pork chop preachers would all join ranks to encircle the activism and leadership of political activists.

The December 12th Movement's faced these repressive realities head on and the goal was to establish its authority. To remain a legitimate movement of the people, by the people, for the people, and

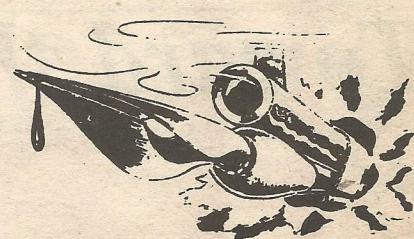
## EDITORIAL

### DECEMBER 12TH MOVEMENT WHERE WE CAME FROM - WHERE WE ARE GOING *Building a Mass Movement and Cadre to Lead*

amongst the people. Quickly chapters were organized in Brooklyn, Manhattan, Hempstead and Queens. The motive force of this organizing was around crack being a chemical warfare strategy and racist killings in Howard Beach and the general repressive climate of police terror against Blacks citywide.

A mass movement was needed to take the people to a higher level of struggle. Mass mobilization, agitation, and politically educating at every turn of their contradictions. The oppression of our nation and the condition of our people would not change until we in fact changed who owned the means of production in our communities and nation. To build a mass movement the December 12th had to get people to an understanding that their

under no circumstances should it take a backseat to any of our



people at every phase of their work. The state responded with a greater wrath.

For the cadre who were in training, we said to them that you must in fact fight for the political line and this was a criteria for leadership. That love for the people must in fact be expressed by a commitment to the line and readiness to fight for it. Within two years we were able to put from 500



The culture for the December 12th Movement is that we must fight for everything.

enemies was our battle cry.

For the December 12th Movement this required that we remain a step ahead of everybody else politically. When organizing, fighting, or struggling for what was in the best interest of the Black nation the movement had to blossom. We could not be fence sitting liberals, petty bourgeois, nor pork chop nationalists.

The vanguard of the December 12th Movement had to be steeped in the political line of revolutionary nationalism, self-determination and self-defense, never waiver from it and be audacious in their fight to live it, to practice it and to teach it to the rank and file. The militants inside the December 12th Movement had to become new revolutionary nationalists cadre and "bring this consciousness" to the masses. This would not happen simultaneously and this error cost us. We moved too swiftly on this program and many militant forces were not adequately equipped with the line to go the distance, so they faded. This error was leadership's error, due to the failure to objectively access and develop the ranks properly.

The culture, the personality for the December 12th Movement was that we must fight for everything. Our signature distinguished us from all the rest of the pseudo-nationalists in New York City on the question of our political line and practice. Under no circumstances did we expect people to be spoon fed the political line. They had to fight for it; they had to struggle for it; they had to try to understand it and internalize it. They had to make it real and they had to take it to the

- 1000 masses in the street at a moment's notice.

Inside the December 12th Movement there were several levels of recruits. The advanced, the militant forces, and new nationalist. Our organizing strategy was to take the advanced forces and to develop them into cadre. Amongst the militants and among the new nationalists we had to teach in the practice of how to become cadre organizers. Developing cadre organizers who would have the ability to give leadership and have the ability to organize the masses in a moment's notice around any issue that we believe to be crucial. From 1986-1990 the December 12th grew very fast and quickly established its vanguard posture. But the state was also moving. NYC police intelligence has targeted the entire leadership for discrediting and trying to break the masses confidence in December 12th's leadership. COINTELPRO was unleashed.

Our position was that cadre were everything and that it was cadre who were going to be in the final analysis the success of the December 12th leadership. A core of cadre that could organize and take the political line in practice as well as never vacillate on the theory; cadre had to have the ability to build new cadre and to build a very vital and dynamic movement throughout every borough in New York City.

To politically organize the masses of Africans in the United States of America is a tremendous

cont. on page 15

# In Order that We Unite...



The third year of the 90s decade (1993) established unequivocally the historical imperative to turn a divided Black Liberation Movement into a united one. The various and diverse groups, gangs, organizations known nationally, "main stream" or those aspiring to be a part of the "main stream" moved toward a working unity. The National Congressional Black Caucus, NAACP leadership and the Minister Louis Farrakan of the Nation of Islam proclaimed that their points of unity were far greater than their difficulties or disunities. Whether all of these groups subjectively admit it or not there is one overriding reason; one clear purpose for unity, that is liberation, freedom and independence for the masses of our people.

The objective fact is that all Africans born in the US, or those who immigrated, are here chasing dreams or promises; class and racist oppression is our lot. Proponents of American (US) democracy and freedom cannot explain the ever increasing horrific conditions under which we live. Those Sharon Pratts, Kurt Schmokes, Ron Browns, Colin Powells, et al, who believe that the US military (National Guard, Special Forces, etc.) differ in essence from the local police force and in fact will come into our communities and "restore" law and order, betray their own humanity and basic common sense. The Marines that were sent to Somalia to "feed the starving masses of Somali people," gave wake to hundreds killed. In L.A., Detroit, Miami and New York Police Departments in countless cases came into our communities to assist with a deranged man, a five year old child, a graffiti artist, "drunk driver," a grandmother who was to be evicted, all wound up dead - so much for restoring anything! However even those blinded by their own individual greed and thirst for admittance into the "main stream"

understood in no uncertain terms that "they had better hook up."

In all struggles the masses make history and change its course. Regardless to the present state of Russia or other "socialist" communist states, Karl Marx was and is correct that those masses oppressed, are by their very existence their own liberators and the oppressors their own grave diggers. They "have nothing to lose but their chains." When the call for unity and the actuality thereof is taken up by this class of African people we will win the war. So in 1993 again the demand for the collective, the unity of all of us who believe that we are oppressed Africans in the USA and had the right to self-determination. We saw that nationally and internationally. Here in the US, Brother A. Jalil Muntaquin, (political prisoner), in a tremendous step toward this unity, authored a call for a FROLINAN (Front for the liberation of the New Afrikan Nation, see page 14). A statement by other political prisoners and prisoners of war, surely the subjective factor responded to the objective conditions and was wont to render Garvey apropos, that is, "When all else fails to organize conditions will."

Dope and its entire degenerative culture was the only industry that continued its "growth and development." In its wake the number of rogue cops increased geometrically. Automatic and semi-automatic guns became ever more available to young people - scared and totally ignorant as to who the real enemy was. As a consequence hundreds of young people were shot, maimed and killed. Those young African brothers and sisters who escaped the "final solution" wound up in jail, some given maximum terms, others became addicted to the poison they pushed. The political economic system to which the masses of our young people fell victim to suffered only

minor setbacks. In the areas where it could have had major disruptions "negroes" informants and collaborators dampened the impact of such setbacks (cite cases). Bill Clinton clothed himself in these types and created or more accurately had them create new versions of the bankrupt position that there is hope and health for Africans in the US because the democratic party was "in power" and fortune awaited us. ATM summarized "Clinton Sidetracks the National Question."

David Dinkins became more and more estranged from the masses of our people in favor of those people he felt had the greater "influence" and by November 1993 he was convinced that after all is said and done when you deny your base, however small in numbers or influence it might be, you've blown. He could never do enough to prove himself to the white community in general including those in his democratic party, and the Jewish community in particular.

We concluded that the system's "interests" is certainly financial at its base, nonetheless race and the superiority of the white race is omnipresent in the USA. The absence not of influence (in the electoral system) then, but the absence of an organized force of Black power and the machinery to exercise it, limits our thrust toward power. Culminating the many marches and demonstrations, was Black Solidarity Day, November 1st at the grave site of our Ancestors (the African Burial Ground), a Black Power Convention was called for and the date set for 1994.

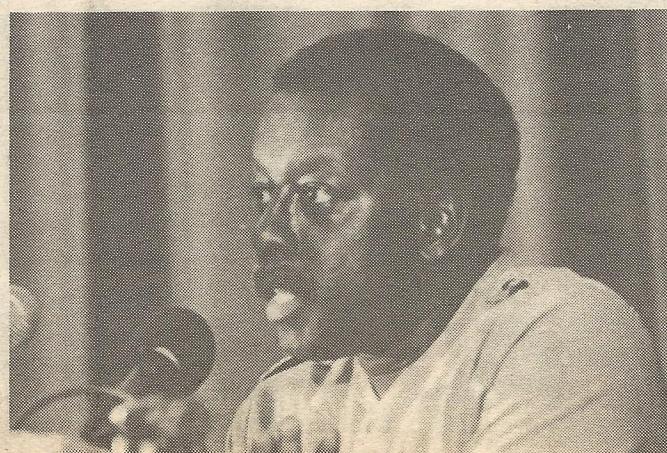
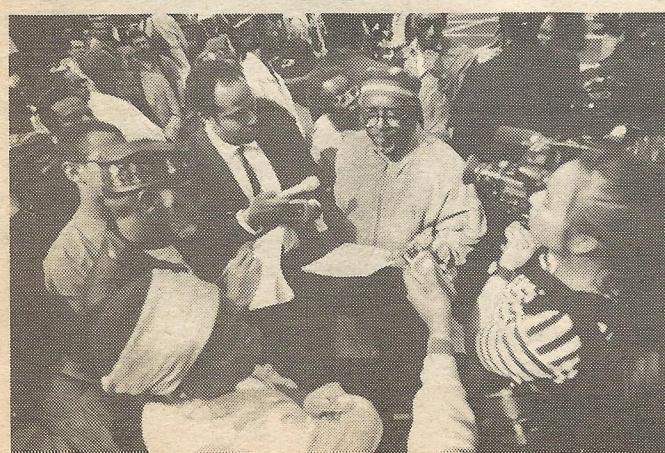
Internationally: After six years, (for those of us in the December 12th Movement a time longer than we could imagine, but a very short time for the UN processes to take hold), we were able to get a resolution passed for the appointment of a special rapporteur on racism. Our maximum program was to have the rapporteur start his

work in the US and then Europe - Germany, Italy, France, however, the final version said his/her work was to begin in the "developed" countries.

Our attendance at the 58th Ordinary Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity and the meeting of the heads of state and in Cairo, Egypt, enabled us to lobby for recognition of the Black Liberation Movement and for it to be granted observer status. President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana proposed, "In our changing world, we should and must find a way to include all the sons and daughters of Africa in building and moving our societies forward."

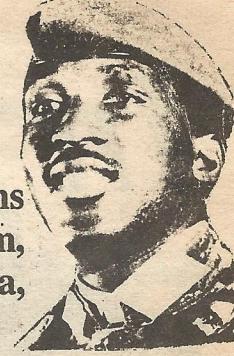
The Human Rights Commission in Geneva and the World Conference on Human Rights meeting in Vienna, Austria, reinforced the pre-eminence of the lone super power, the USA. Critical issues of human rights with their interrelationships to development as a human right were obviated by highly financed "women's" organizations in Vienna. These organizations established the priority for the next 25 years as the conference closed on women's rights as human rights.

1993 was climaxed for the December 12th Movement with the appearance of the Foreign Minister of Cuba - Roberto Robaina - in Harlem at an African Cuban Cultural Rally, reiterating that the decade of the nineties will unite those who are committed to fight for the right of all nations and peoples to sovereignty, independence and self-determination. *Toward a socialist Republic of New Afrika.*





# Africans and World Revolution



The African Revolution is fundamental to transforming the quality of life for Africans on the Continent, in diaspora, and the masses worldwide. It is in Africa that Imperialism, colonialism, and Zionism have hatched their most insidious schemes: and it is there, Africa, where they will meet their ultimate defeat.

## A History of the Pan-African Congressses

*[Excerpts from a speech by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois at the 5th PAC held in Manchester, England in 1945]*

The idea of one Africa uniting the thought and ideals of all native peoples of the Dark Continent belongs to the twentieth century and stems naturally from the West Indies and the United States. Here various groups of Africans quite separate in origin, became so united in experience and so exposed to the impact of a new culture that they began to think of Africa as one idea and one land ...

It was not ... until 1900 that a black West Indian barrister, H. Sylvester-Williams ... called together a "Pan-African" Conference ... It had some thirty delegates, mainly from England and the West Indies, with a few colored Americans... This meeting had no roots in Africa itself, and the movement and the idea died for a generation.



[In December 1918, Dr. DuBois traveled to Europe to attend the Peace Conference at the end of World War I, with the idea of calling a Pan-African Congress. The Chicago Tribune of 1/19/19 described the Congress as follows.] "The Conference is to embrace Negro leaders from America, Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti and the French and British colonies and other parts of the black world. Its object is to get out of the Peace Conference an effort to modernize the dark continent, and in the world reconstruction to provide international machinery looking toward the civilization of the African natives ...

"...As 'self-determination' is one of the words to conjure with in Paris nowadays, the Negro leaders are seeking to have it applied, if possible, in a measure, to their race in Africa ...

"Dr. DuBois' dream is that the Peace Conference could form an internationalized Africa, to have as its basis the former German colonies

... To this could be added the [territory] and inhabitants of Portuguese Africa [and] the Belgium Congo ...

"This Africa for the Africans could be under the guidance of international organization ... It must represent not simply the white world, but the civilized Negro world."

[This First Pan-African Congress was held in February 1919 in Paris.] This Congress represented Africa partially ...

The Congress specifically asked that the German colonies be turned over to an international organization instead of being handled by the various colonial powers.

The New York Herald, Paris, February 24, 1919 said: "There is

published the Congress' petition as an official document, saying in part] "We ask and urge that the League take a firm stand on the absolute equality of races, and that it suggests to the colonial powers connected with the League of Nations to form an International Institute for the study of the Negro problem, and for the evolution and protection of the Negro race."

[The Third Pan African Congress was held in London and Lisbon late in 1923.] 11 countries were represented there, and especially Portuguese Africa. [Included among its demands for Africans were the following]: A voice in their own government; the right of access to the land and its resources; the development of

### 7th PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS

ONE STRUGGLE, MANY FRONTS!

nothing unreasonable in the program drafted at the Pan-African Congress which was held in Paris last week. It calls upon the Allied and Associated Powers to draw up an international code of law for the protection of the nations of Africa, and to create, as a section of the League of Nations, a permanent bureau to ensure observance of such laws and thus further the racial, political and economic interests of the natives."

[The Second Pan African Congress met in London, Brussels and Paris in August and September 1921]. Of the 113 delegates ... 41 were from Africa, 35 from the United States, 24 represented Negroes living in Europe, and 7 were from the West Indies ... They came for the most part ... as individuals.

[The Belgian Press was less than enthusiastic]. The Brussels Neptune wrote: "Announcement has been made ... of a Pan-African Congress ... It is interesting to note that this association [the NAACP] is directed by personages who it is said in the United States have received remuneration from Moscow (Bolsheviks). The association has already organized its propaganda in the lower Congo, and we must not be astonished if some day it causes grave difficulties in the Negro village of Kinshasa [Congo], composed of all the ne'er-do-wells of the various tribes of the Colony, aside from some hundreds of laborers.

[The League of Nations, forerunner of the United Nations,

Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans; world disarmament and the abolition of war, but failing this, and so long as white folk bear arms against black folk, the right of blacks to bear arms in their own defense; the organization of commerce and industry so as to make the main objects of capital and labour the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few.



[The Fourth Pan African Congress was held in New York in 1927.] 13 countries were represented but direct African participation lagged. The demands were similar to those of the Third PAC.

[The Fifth Pan African Congress was held in Manchester, England in 1945 despite the desire and effort of organizers to convene it on the African continent.]



According to an analysis put forward by the International Preparatory Committee for the 7th Pan African Congress, the theme of the Sixth Pan African Congress held in Tanzania in 1974 was "Self-Reliance, Self-Determination and Unity of black people throughout the world." The objective of the organizers was to emphasize people's organizations as opposed to governments. The Congress was attended by 52 delegations from African and Caribbean states, liberation movements, communities of Africans in North America, South America, Britain and the Pacific. The resolutions finally adopted reflected the relative strength of the progressive forces, with the lead taken by the liberation movements.

The IPC sums up that, "the greatest weakness of the 6th PAC was the inability to transform all the good resolutions into a concrete organisational and institutional framework for action."

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## Africa and World Revolution

# Pan-Africanism and Neo-Colonialism

by Raheem Williams

One aspect of Pan-African unity is tied to the commonality of the experience of Africans, both on the Continent and throughout the Diaspora. Though geographically and linguistically separated, Africans have been subject to some of the same tactics of oppression. In his classic work Neo-Colonialism, the Highest Stage of Imperialism, the great Pan-Africanist Kwame Nkrumah provided a penetrating analysis of the sham that "flag" independence represented. That the colonial powers, confronted by the growing nationalism of the African masses who were prepared to be self-determining at all costs, devised a new means of maintaining control. Their exploitation of Africa was always tied to the imperialist logic of extracting the maximum profit. It did not matter to their ruling class who was the manager of the operation so long as it continued



to provide the profit they expected. Thus African countries were awarded independence, a flag and a national anthem, while control of the financial infrastructure remained firmly in the grasp of one or another former "mother country."

Nkrumah's Neo-Colonialism examined and substantiated this reality of European economic control through African political puppets. The phenomenon described by Nkrumah is not

restricted to the African continent. It was carried out with the Caribbean states which gained their "independence" in the 1960s and 1970s.

The same concept, with a different twist, was employed against Africans in the US. While we did not gain control of the land mass of the oppressed Black Nation, many of us thought we gained control of some aspect of our lives

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Masses of people at "Wall Street" area of Kinshasa, Zaire, waiting to exchange bank notes formerly valued in the hundreds of billions but now virtually worthless.

## MOBUTU AT HIS BEST

Excerpts from an article in The New York Times.

"Zairians are in terror of the new bills," Peter Rosenblum, a senior lawyer with the Human Rights Law Group said. "They know that each time a new bill is introduced, the old bills become virtually worthless, and inflation takes another galactic leap."

### Violence is Feared

There is plenty of evidence that if the situation continues to worsen, it could cost the lives of hundreds, perhaps thousands of people through violence it might engender.

Indeed, twice in this decade Zairians have suffered through outbreaks of violence and rioting provoked by the Government's ill-advised attempts to introduce new

currencies. In July 1991, Zaire Army soldiers mutinied because they had not been paid. A week of looting and violence spread throughout the country, eliminating most of what remained of the modern productive sector, outside of mining. In Kinshasa area alone, 90,000 jobs were lost and at least 240 people were killed.

The rioting also led to the evacuation of virtually all foreign workers - about 20,000 people, mostly from Belgium, France and the United States. They included most of the country's university professors, teaching staff at hospitals and geologists in the vital mining industry.

Rioting erupted again last February when soldiers discovered that the new five-million-zaire bank

notes used to pay them were impossible to spend. They seized control of the Parliament building and held several hundred lawmakers hostage, demanding that they order local merchants to accept the new bank notes. Hundreds, including the French Ambassador, were killed.

Nonetheless, in yet another effort to prop up the economy artificially, on Oct. 22 President Mobutu introduced yet another new currency, with each note supposed to be worth three of the old bills and set an official rate of three to the dollar.

### Traders are Arrested

But traders on Kinshasa's Wall Street, a narrow alley across the road from the United States

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## French Response to Algerian Turmoil

Excerpted from The New York Times, December 12, 1993

by Alan Riding

Still bearing the scars of its painful loss of Algeria more than 30 years ago, France is increasingly fearful of being drawn into the violent conflict between Islamic fundamentalists and a besieged army-backed junta in its former North African possession.

But with nearly one million Algerians living here and with Algeria still looking to France as its most important European partner, Paris is finding it difficult to shield itself from the repercussions of the violence tearing Algeria apart.

The Algerian crisis is "one of the most dramatic and difficult situations we have to face," President Francois Mitterrand has warned. The European Affairs Minister, Alain Lamassoure, noted this week that France was "very worried" by developments in Algeria.

On Wednesday, an elderly man became the third French citizen slain in Algeria since September. Three French diplomats were kidnapped there in October, supposedly by

Islamic extremists, although they were later freed.

Angered by the kidnappings, France responded by rounding up 88 suspected sympathizers of the Islamic Salvation Front, the fundamentalist group that was poised to win Algerian parliamentary elections two years ago, before the authorities canceled them. This week, French police detained a dozen Tunisian fundamentalists for questioning.

With another militant Algerian organization, the Armed Islamic Group, now threatening to kill all foreigners, France has reluctantly urged its citizens to return home or at least to send dependents back to France....

Alarmed by the attacks on foreigners, Russia, Germany, Italy, Spain and Britain have encouraged their citizens to leave. On Thursday, the United States said it was reducing its embassy staff in

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## Winnie Mandela

Little more than two years ago, Winnie Mandela faced a series of opponents, hidden and open. She was convicted in May 1991 killing of the alleged South African informant "Stompie." Given the conciliatory attitude present in the country, she was facing a long jail term. She was forced to give up her senior posts in the ANC. The NY Times writes, "Among South Africa's comfortable Black mainstream she was shunned as the estranged and embittered wife of their revered leader Nelson Mandela." But last week (Dec. 10, 1993), Mrs. Mandela confounded nearly all and bounced back by being elected president of the Women's League of the ANC, a potentially powerful political platform.

Winnie has built an independent power base among the most oppressed sectors of her country, people of the squatter camps and the more revolutionary youth of the townships.

**Straight Ahead, Winnie!!**

## HUMAN RIGHTS REVIEW

## Amnesty Petition for Puerto Rican Political Prisoners Submitted

by Jan Susler

On Sunday, November 14, the government of Puerto Rico held a "plebiscite" to determine the Puerto Rican people's preference of the island's political status. While the vote favored current commonwealth status, what was not included or resolved in the process was the status of the 18 Puerto Rican political prisoners in the United States prisons. As votes were tallied from Sunday's "plebiscite", these men and women are serving virtual life sentences for "seditious conspiracy" arising from their opposition to US control of Puerto Rico.



In San Juan, on November 16, Ofensiva '92, the international campaign for the release of the prisoners, announced the submission of a formal application to President Clinton for amnesty for these 18 independence activists in prison in the US. According to the application:

*While there is no right to statehood or commonwealth, as they*



*exist only at the will of US Congress, there is a right to self-determination and independence, and the vote will occur while adherents to independence are in prison. It would be consistent with notions of justice and democracy to ensure that those in prison be released in order to permit their participation in this process.*

The campaign simultaneously announced that along with the Center for Constitutional Rights and the American Association of Jurists, they filed a petition for a review of the prisoners' case with the Organization of American States (OAS). In Chicago, New York, San Francisco and Hartford, those working with Ofensiva '92, including the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War, held parallel conferences.

The Clinton application and the OAS petition reveal a startling disparity between the sentences given to the Puerto Rican political prisoners and those given to social

prisoners. While the Puerto Rican prisoners' average sentence was over 70 years, the average sentence for homicide for the 20 years between 1966 and 1985 was 22.7 years. The sentences of 55 to 90 years given to ten of the Puerto Rican prisoners in 1981 were 19 times higher than the average sentence for all crimes that year. Another disparity exposed in the applications: most of the Puerto Rican prisoners have already served almost 14 years in prison, twice as long as the average time served by those convicted of homicide. The petitions argue that this discriminatory and punitive disparities are the result of illicit



punishment of the prisoners for their role as clandestine anti-colonial combatants and their activities in support of the self-determination and independence of their nation.

The petition to the president recites a history of US concern for the welfare and freedom of political prisoners in other countries, to the extent of using diplomatic and trade

pressures to evoke the desired result. "The government of South Africa freed its anti-apartheid political prisoners, and the government of Israel is in the process of freeing its Palestinian



political prisoners, with the encouragement and blessing of the US government. We expect the US will want to do the same with the Puerto Rican prisoners, who are in prison for the same struggle for the self-determination and independence of their people. We are asking President Clinton to grant amnesty to these prisoners, just as President Carter did in 1979 for five other Puerto Rican political prisoners," observed Dr. Luis Nieves Falcon, coordinator of Ofensiva '92.

The OAS petition seeks not only an evidentiary hearing before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, but also a declaration directing the US to immediately release the prisoners. "The continued imprisonment and politically punitive treatment of the

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## PRISON CONFISCATES LITERATURE

CAN WE GET SOME SUPPORT? Following is a letter that a group of politically conscious incarcerated brothers suggest be sent to the Indiana Commissioner of Corrections. The letter explains the situation they're facing.

Christian DeBruyn, Commissioner  
IDOC  
804 State Office Building  
100 North Senate Avenue  
Indianapolis, IN. 46204

Dear Commissioner DeBruyn,

I am writing you to protest the illegal search and seizure of a newsletter called "Human Rights Held Hostage" ordered by Deputy Commissioner John Nunn and conducted by officials at MCC Westville during Nov. 7-10. Over a period of several days, staff did a sweep of the entire institution, searching for this newsletter in particular, according to guards. And indeed issues of "HRHH" were systematically confiscated along with other politically progressive material, even some legal material. Confiscation slips were not issued for all the confiscated material and the prison's own regulations were violated. Such search and seizure goes beyond censorship, but amounts to theft of personal property. Why?

"HRHH" is a prisoners'

newsletter published by a multi-racial prisoners' human rights organization called the Committee for Freedom (CFF). CFF was formed in the aftermath of the prisoners' hunger strike at MCC to collect and publish writing by politically progressive prisoners throughout the Indiana prison system - "HRHH" was thus born, featuring essays, poetry, and art

***The Committee upholds the UN's standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners and seeks to educate both prisoners and the larger public...***

work by prisoners. CFF upholds the United Nation's Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners and seeks to educate both prisoners and the larger public on the struggle for self-determination by the Black community and other oppressed nations within this country and abroad. And indeed within the prisons, members of CFF struggle

to bring prisoners together, settle divisions, hold study classes, and provide the education for social change ("rehabilitation") that is not offered by the authorities. Is this a crime?

"HRHH" has never advocated violence against staff or other prisoners. It has never promoted criminal activity in any shape or form. On the contrary, it is strongly anti-gang, anti-crime, and anti-drug. The federal courts have established that prison officials cannot ban publications simply because of their political content. Murphy v. Dept. of Corrections 814 F. 2d 1252, 1257 (8th Cir. 1987). Nor can prison officials censor incoming materials because said material offers unfavorable views of prison. Brooks v. Andolina 826 F. 2d 608, 610 (7th Cir. 1987). Yet this recent institution-wide "sweep" targeting "Human Rights Held Hostage" is clearly an attack on the publication for its political content. If this is not the case, then could the DOC please explain to me why "HRHH" has been targeted for an institution-wide witch-hunt and not the Ku Klux Klan literature some prisoners have collected?

For additional information:  
Committee for Freedom  
P.O. Box 14075  
Chicago, IL. 60614-0075



***Jalil Muntaquin  
Front for the  
Liberation of the New  
Afrikan Nation***

In the last several years from many corners of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, there has been a clarion call for the building of the Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation. A revolutionary nationalist front to establish a movement for national independence, to free the national territory of Kush from the colonial (U.S.A.) government. This call has mostly come from BLA-POWs and their supporters who recognize the need to resurrect a militant resistance to continued national oppression, identifying the basis of our peoples' colonial subjugation as part of the anti-

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## Dare To Struggle

## EDITORIAL: DECEMBER 12TH MOVEMENT

## Where We Came From - Where We Are Going

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task. The majority of African-Americans in the United States have been deluded with the propaganda that bourgeois "democracy" is in fact judicious and a blessing. The fruits of American democracy quickly became a myth.

A colonized nation of over 40 million Africans that is constantly bombarded by the psychological propaganda of deception, we, the vanguard, are confronted with the tremendous task of pulling the covers off all of their games of disinformation and negative public opinion. To organize a tenth of the 40 million Africans for revolution is even more difficult, and for the December 12th Movement this demands a double effort and dedicated core to raise the consciousness of the unorganized masses, to tell them in no uncertain terms that the final resolution to the contradiction of racism and monopoly capitalist is revolution. Revolution cannot be accomplished without proper organization, without the proper leadership, without the correct line of how do you organize steeled cadre to lead. This is what is meant by the vanguard and having the ability to put millions of people in the street against the illusion of bourgeois democracy. The first task is to consolidate the center, that is the leadership itself must fight for its existence. We are talking about the 40, 60, 100 people inside the December 12th Movement. Only six years old the December 12th Movement at this stage of its development must see itself as a emerging new revolutionary center that is both skilled and combat

ready. Revolutionaries who are in fact struggling to become part of the leadership of the Black Liberation/New African Independence movement in Amerikkka. We are young but we are determined to learn how to become better revolutionaries.

Particularly important for all the December 12th cadre in the nineties is to recognize the importance of sacrifice, dedication and knowledge, essential ingredients that we must

it will not happen overnight but the direction and guidance is necessary at this time.

In order to carry out these goals we have set forth a strategy. We must have a general plan for reaching our strategic aim, and we must have a method and style of work. We first began with our strategic aim. The strategic aim of the December 12th Movement is to recapture our community by any means necessary and take control of



have in order to carry out our work. To make revolution demands fundamental change in the quality of life of all Africans. This will not happen overnight. It will not happen in 10, 20, maybe 50 years, however, we must be committed to the principle that in fact anything is better than racist monopoly finance capitalism. But we are not just talking about "anything", we are talking about a new society that is based upon new principles that we fundamentally believe can in fact construct a collective self-reliant political economy based upon the political economic principle of socialism. We recognize that this will be a protracted struggle and that

every aspect of the life and survival of our people.

So, our first task, and this is a tactic, is to raise the people's consciousness. To take back the streets, to take back the question of who controls our communities and that in fact the people who live there must agitate the masses militantly; to give them the slogans of "No Justice, No Peace," "Never Give Up," and "Freedom or Death." This political agitation must be ongoing. It must take place in every aspect of the basic day to day survival of our community.

Ho Chi Minh's philosophy was that there was nothing more precious than land and

independence. 400 years after the raping and enslaving of our nation, the aspirations of the toiling African masses to be free remains. Ultimately, the struggle is to liberate our nation and to establish a socialist republic of New Africa. This is one legitimate right of self-determination. The first struggle to put forth the program is to consolidate the most advanced revolutionary forces into a national liberation front. The Front must be built in this period to unleash the productive forces of 40 million Africans for a protracted war of national liberation for land and independence.

The December 12th leadership is committed to working and building toward the success of a national liberation front for land and independence of the New African nation.

**Let's Get it On.  
Straight Ahead!**

### Recapturing Our Community

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Jeanne Ollivierre was also recently involved in a community clean up in West Harlem. Over 100 residents, adults and children, teachers, students and administrators participated together on Saturday, December 11th. They came out to "Help Create 'Waste Free' Zones by Joining Operation Fresh Start!" Jeanne and Linda Jannek of the 575 Riverside Tenants Association organized and directed the "Let's Reclaim Our Community Campaign." A 30 block area from 125th to 155th Street, covering Broadway, Amsterdam and Convent Avenues, was targeted for clean up. Inclement weather prevented an entire area clean up, but Jeanne termed it a "wet" run, to be repeated in Spring of 1994. As part of the community clean up campaign, an essay and poster contest with this theme is running through the month of December in the 16 participating schools in the area.

The community residents were proud to have taken part in the beautification of their community. It is a step toward changing the culture of our community to one controlled by us in all aspects - from the cleanliness of the streets to the respect for one another that prevents needless tragedies as occurred at City College. It is the work of the many Jeanne Ollivierre's which will make this possible.

## China Gives Message of Support to Cuba

Chinese President Jiang Zemin ended a visit to Cuba with a message of support for President Fidel Castro, saying his brief stay would lead to increased cooperation between the two communist countries.

"Although my visit to Cuba was short, the arduous struggle of the Cuban people to build their own country left a deep impression on me," Jiang said in a message to Castro released by the Cuban media after his departure. "This visit... will without doubt promote future consolidations of friendly cooperation between China and Cuba. I hope for the prosperity of your noble country," Prensa Latina news agency quoted the message as saying.

Jiang, the first Chinese leader to travel to the Caribbean island, left for Brazil shortly after midday after a 20 hour visit which included two sessions of talks with Castro.

There has been no official comment on the content of their discussions. Jiang, who was given a warm welcome by Castro, said in a statement on his arrival that issues would include bilateral relations and an account of China's reform process, as well as an exchange of views on economic reconstruction.

Cuba, committed to preserving the gains of the 1959 revolution which brought Castro to power but suffering a severe economic crisis, has recently begun a process of cautious economic reform. But while it has cited China - whose market reforms are far advanced - as an example of change, Havana says it does not intend to copy any specific country's model. And so far, Castro has not indicated Cuba is setting down the same path as China.

In their only publicly spoken comments during the visit, Castro paid tribute on Sunday to the

achievements of Chinese communism and Jiang replied with praise for Cuba's spirit of independence. But there was no word on the exact focus of their talks or whether they discussed any future economic accords. And there was no indication of what Jiang's promise of increased cooperation might involve.

The island's oil-importing, sugar-exporting economy was plunged into difficulty by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of traditional trade and aid ties. Cuba is squeezed for hard currency and faces shortages of goods ranging from fuel to food.

Havana, which buys foods, spare parts and chemicals from China, was unable to fulfill totally an agreement to export 700,000 tons of sugar to China this year, although Cuban diplomats have said this shortfall was made up for largely by exports of other goods.

# LAW & ORDER

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features that pose a threat to the human and constitutional rights of our community. Following are some of the proposals as highlighted from the ACLU's "Analysis of Senate Crime Bill Amendments."

Expansion of the Death Penalty: It is proposed that the death penalty be expanded to 47 crimes. Aside from the facts that: the International Declaration of Human Rights opposes capital punishment; and that studies have shown that the death penalty has little effect in deterring crime, there is this sobering reality for people of color. When we examine the way that the federal government is implementing the death penalty provisions of current legislation, we find that "73% of the federal death penalty prosecutions have been sought against African-American defendants. Half of the remaining eight federal prosecutions have been against Hispanic defendants. Four federal capital defendants have been Caucasian. The U.S. military now has a total of 8 people on death row: six are African-American, one is Filipino, and one is Caucasian."

Prosecution of Juveniles Age 13 and Above as Adults: This amendment, which treats juveniles charged with certain violent federal crimes as adults, was proposed by the first Black woman in the U.S. Senate, Carol Moseley-Braun. This amendment is mandatory, removing any discretion a judge previously had to determine whether prosecution as an adult was in the best interest of the child and of the larger society.

Mandatory Minimum Sentencing and Life Imprisonment for 3rd Time Drug and Violent Crime Felons: These amendments increase the category of those persons who would be subject to mandatory minimum sentencing. This type of sentencing eliminates a judge's discretion and usually results in the defendant receiving a disproportionately harsh sentence. And of course there is the racial issue. According to the ACLU, "[I]n cases where a mandatory minimum could apply, African-American offenders were 21% more likely, and Hispanic offenders 28% more likely than Caucasians to receive at least the mandatory minimum prison term." The Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons has testified that an estimated 90% of the growth in the federal prison population during the last 7 years is directly attributable to the combined effect of mandatory minimums and the sentencing guidelines, which have led to a reduction in the use of probation and an increase in prison time. Under the other amendment, a person convicted of a third drug or violent crime offense could get life imprisonment, even though the prior two crimes involved nonviolent burglary or property damage. And neither of these amendments addresses the fact that

there has been no proof that longer periods of incarceration have any deterrent effect on crime.

#### \$22 Billion Trust Fund:

States will be eligible to receive monies from a "Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund" provided that they change their sentencing and detention laws to conform to the more right-wing ones currently being considered by the Congress.

#### Criminal Alien Deportation:

Non-permanent resident aliens convicted of "aggravated felonies" would not have a deportation hearing. These hearings have been important in preventing the INS from mistakenly deporting US

*A person convicted of a third drug... offense could get life imprisonment even though the two prior crimes involved nonviolent ...crimes...*

citizens and lawful permanent residents.

#### Alien Terrorist Deportation:

Alleged alien terrorists would be subject to special deportation procedures permitting the use of secret evidence. The US government's interpretation would apply this to people involved in legal fundraising or political support activity of an alleged terrorist organization.

Yes, there is crime in our community. African people have to understand that we must acknowledge and address the danger and deteriorating quality of life in our community. But we must be crystal clear that the laws passed by those responsible for creating the conditions under which we live are not designed to help us, but to put us in jail. Not simply for spite, but for profit. African people are no longer a productive or necessary factor in the US workforce. The major role we have begun to play in the economy is as the rationale for an expanding prison system. It is our increasing and disproportionate presence in the criminal justice system that justifies construction of more prisons. These institutions are the sole source of employment in the areas where they are located. The US ruling class and racist whites regard us, **ALL OF US**, as the problem. To the extent that they can get some of us to co-sign their "final solution" the easier it is for them. We will have to resolve our own problems, be they drug dealers/users, conscienceless young men with guns or police who feel they have a license to kill in our communities. We can depend on no one to do it for us.

## Camps

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out the demands of this dying system's armed forces. Increasingly Black recruits are being placed in third world countries to enforce what must be done if the United States is to maintain power even if it's only for a short while longer. Where should this new field of

pseudo mercenaries come from?

The United States has the largest prison population in the world. Blacks represent one fifth of the population but nearly one half of the prison population. While they serve as free labor inside these jails and prisons, these men also become a reserve for Uncle Sam's war and peace keeping forces nationally and internationally.

Boot camps in prison are based on the boot camps for new recruits for the armed forces. It is not too far fetched to predict that these young men and women could be recruited straight from jail to be the new mercenaries for the US military.

## Crisis of Crime

cont. from page 3

hire more police; build more prisons, even to suspend cherished civil liberties can be quite seductive as people yearn for stability, safety and security. My guess is that even in the African American community and other communities of color Mayor Kelly's idea of using the National Guard met with nods of approval.

What was noticeably lacking in the November 2 election, however, was any meaningful emphasis on social and economic justice. It is as if there is no connection between injustice and the crisis which is gripping this country. While politicians and much of the American public keep looking for a quick and easy fix, the reality is that the epidemic of crime and violence will not significantly subside until the social and economic violence that is being committed against the masses of Black poor and working people and Black youth is curtailed/stopped. For the past several years the National Urban League has renewed its demand for a Domestic Marshall Plan to attack unemployment, poverty, disease, infra-structure disrepair and social disintegration in rural and urban disadvantaged communities in this country. Thus far this proposal has fallen on deaf ears under both Republican and Democratic administrations.

African Americans in particular must raise questions as to why it is so much easier for state and local governments and the federal government to spend billions of dollars on new prison construction rather than allocating billions of dollars to create jobs and economic infrastructure in depressed communities? Law and order sells well on the political stump but it hardly addresses the root causes of the crisis of crime and violence in American society. In fact increased prison construction and a greater reliance on law enforcement has not made an appreciable dent in the epidemic of crime and violence.

The lesson to be learned from all of this is that we need elected officials who will speak truth to power rather than elected officials or aspiring officeholders who offer

expedient solutions just to get elected. There is an integral relationship between social and economic justice and safety and security in our neighborhoods. Therefore, we must not fall for quick fix solutions like the call for the deployment of the National Guard in our communities. Instead, we should be militantly demanding a cessation of the neglect, abuse and economic violence that is generating much of the anger, despair and gunfire in our communities. We need to demand the "deployment" of jobs, community economic development, housing, health care and quality education in our communities. America needs to respond to our social and economic justice agenda. "No justice, No peace," is not just a slogan. It captures the essential reality of the relationship between justice and peace and it is prophetic in terms of the judgement to be rendered on a society that fails to provide for the health and well being of all of the people.

## Agent Orange

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and the birth of children with hare lips and other congenital deformities. Some were Siamese twins, some had no limbs and some had defects which made them "monsters."

The committee said in a statement that the impact of defoliants on humans had remained controversial at previous international conferences.

But Vietnamese research had led scientists to conclude "that Agent Orange and dioxin are objectively actual facts which still exist at residual levels in the nature and the human body of Vietnamese inhabitants exposed to toxic chemicals used during war time or living in sprayed areas."

The harmful effects of Agent Orange and dioxin had been increasingly accepted worldwide, and statements about it were not propaganda, the committee said.

In the United States, the Veterans Administration expanded disability benefits for Vietnam War veterans in September to include some cancers said to have resulted from Agent Orange....

## Dec. 12th Movement at 7th PAC

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New York on December 12th by revolutionaries, civil rights activists, clergy, students and labor. The following week, on December 21st, another demonstration - A Day of Outrage - was held in New York City where some 5000 Blacks, Latinos and progressive whites successfully shut down the New York City public and private transportation system to express

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## Dec. 12th

### At the 7th Pan African Congress

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their outrage at and defiance of racism in New York. From these historic rallies a new militant motion by the conscious masses began under our slogan of "No Justice! No Peace!"

The December 12th Movement's leadership is a collective one that recognizes the Pan-African nature of our existence and struggle and has consciously carried it on in the tradition of Martin Delaney, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, W.E.B. DuBois, A.M. Babu, Ben Bella, Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah and Malcolm X. It comes out of the gang struggles in the streets of New York that developed into a Black

Nationalist consciousness. It is a product of the teachings of Pan-Africanists, like Dr. Carlos Cooks, on the necessity for Africans throughout the Diaspora to support each other and fight together to secure our freedom. It reflects the struggle to view and implement religious precepts from a communal, essentially revolutionary perspective - a theology of liberation. It is revolutionary intellectuals/students devoting their skills to the tasks of national liberation. It is workers recognizing that their liberation is tied to more than the next pay raise. It is revolutionaries who understand that our struggle for national liberation cannot be completely successful without applying a class analysis.

The history of the December 12th Movement in particular and the Black Liberation Movement in general is defined by its resistance to racist and national oppression. In the closing third of this century, faced with economic crises that threaten the rule of the very rich, there has been a rise of fascism in the US, which is disguised by the facade of "democracy." It can be seen in: the increase of police brutality and racist violence; the waging of state-sponsored economic terrorism geared to marginalizing Black workers and youth; the steady erosion of democratic rights in the legal arena; international militarization against communism/

terrorism, with the real goal of suppressing national self-determination, e.g. the invasion of Grenada.

The Black Liberation Movement, the struggle of the African masses to change their objective conditions, has proven a serious obstacle to the plans of the US ruling class. In all those arenas where the groundwork for fascism was being laid, the resistance of those who became the December 12th Movement can be seen - the African Liberation Support Committee, the

Mobilization Committee against Police Brutality, the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, the Black Unemployed Youth Movement, the Sunrise Collective, the New York 8+ Against Fascist Terrorism.

The US ruling class attempted to derail the opposition by criminalizing the Black Liberation Movement. Over the 70s and 80s, many Black revolutionaries were prosecuted and jailed. During that time there were few legal victories. In the 1970s, there was the Panther 21 trial. In the 1980s, it was the N.Y. 8+ trial.

The arrest of the New York 8, Black male and female revolutionaries, was the first implementation of the Reagan/Schultz "preemptive strike" policy against so-called international/domestic terrorism. The defendants and community responded by putting the government on trial, by making it clear that the NY 8 and the Black Liberation Movement were being prosecuted for following in the traditions of Malcolm X and the Black Panthers. That the attack on the New York 8 was an attack on our constitutional and human rights.

The acquittal of the New York 8 slowed down the consolidation of fascism. The brothers and sisters themselves emerged slightly battered, but stronger than ever, still organizing.

### The Black Liberation Movement has proven a serious obstacle to... the US ruling class...

The December 12th Movement is composed of several organizations. The Black Men's Movement Against Crack was formed in 1986 to respond to the chemical warfare attack being waged on our community. The Harriet Tubman Fannie Lou Hamer collective addresses the issues facing Black women in the context of our struggle for national liberation. The Black Consciousness Movement organizes Black youth. The Afrikan People's Farmers Market is a model of Black economic self-determination and sufficiency. The Masses United for Human Rights and the Human Rights Action Committees popularize the concept of human rights in Black communities across the country. The International Secretariat has secured Observer Status with the OAU where it has lobbied for reciprocity from African countries.

At the United Nations the Secretariat raises the issue of the human rights violations faced by African people in the US. In its own right and/or through its constituent organizations the December 12th Movement has been involved in key struggles/events affecting the Black community. The Black Power Conference in 1986 helped point "Which Way Forward?" The "Days of Outrage" and "No Justice! No Peace!" campaigns serve as preparation for a General Strike. The struggles to Save the Audubon Ballroom (where Malcolm X was assassinated) and to secure the Negro Burial Ground were campaigns to preserve our history and culture. The Patrice Lumumba Coalition keeps the community informed of all issues of interest to Africans throughout the Diaspora. Black Solidarity Day observances demonstrate the potential of our united strength. Together they make up the December 12th Movement, a part of the struggle for liberation of African people in the US which is a part of the struggle of Pan-African liberation.

to get brutalized, the NYPD way or the LAPD way!

It's War! We must recognize that the NYPD, the LAPD and all the police departments throughout the nation have the same war plan for the cities. Black and oppressed people live in the cities and have forever been the victims of these paramilitary squads. Commissioner Kelly speaks of a different mind set in his department. I contend that the mind set has always been the same, that is to keep the masses of Black people and other people of color "in line."

## New York City Race for Mayor

cont. from page 5

### Flatbush Boycott

David Dinkins went on TV to express his outrage at Black people boycotting a Korean store in Flatbush where a Black woman had been assaulted by the store owner. In fact he went so far as to cross a community picket line to demonstrate his uncritical support for the Korean store owner. He failed to even contact the Black woman who was assaulted. For over eighteen months he kept the Black Flatbush community in a state of near military rule (police units) to protect the store.

### Middle East War

During the Gulf War, David Dinkins flew off to Israel to declare his uncritical support for the Zionist state, at the expense of the Palestinians. However Dinkins has failed to ever make a trip to Haiti to declare, by his person, his outrage at the US hand in Aristide's overthrow.

### Police Attack

And finally on May 19th, 1992, Malcolm X's birthday, Dinkins turned loose the NYC police to attack a militant, but peaceful march to the UN led by the December 12th Movement, called to protest Black people's human rights violations inside the US. Several of the 5,000 marchers were injured and over 100 Black people were arrested.

The above four examples point to the class character and disposition of a man who Black people never embraced truly as their own. And in the final analysis, Black people were never agitated enough by his leadership to come out and vote for David Dinkins.

Swept out of citywide representation in 1993 and the next several years to come, Black people need to be about the development of a Black agenda of self-determination, human rights and self-defense. We need to focus our agenda around issues and not personalities.

## RIOT CONTROL

cont. from page 5  
drilling and training of 13,000 paid murderers.

Commissioner Raymond Kelly said, "the new equipment is conservative compared to the rubber bullets and gas that police approved in Los Angeles." Sounds like South Afrikka in Amerikkka. Take you choice folks, choose how you want

**On May 19, 1992, Dinkins turned loose the NYC police...**

## MOBUTU

*cont. from page 13*

Embassy here, quickly devalued the old money. The Government first responded by raiding Wall Street, arresting traders and seizing banknotes.

But the money changers soon returned. Oto Nbongo, a spokesman for the dealers, told Zaire television that they had come back "because among the money changers there are fathers and mothers of families who depend on this practice."

Left unsaid, many Zairians say, is that many of the Wall Street traders are relatives of senior Government officials and soldiers who depend on the market for their main source of income.

More ominously, the new notes have already caused scattered rioting. In late November, soldiers went on a looting rampage in the central Zaire town of Kananga where opposition parties have been leading a boycott of the currency. Three Roman Catholic priests were reportedly killed in the rampage.

In any event, Etienne Tshisekedi, Zaire's main opposition leader, who despite being dismissed by President Mobutu last year still considers himself Prime Minister, has called the new notes a "criminal swindle."

"This operation is pure piracy," Mr. Tshisekedi told reporters at a news conference, "The people will agree with me in the end."

## Pan-Africanism & Neo-Colonialism

*cont. from page 13*

via the electoral process. Freedom for us became equated with the right to vote. The right to vote meant the opportunity to elect people with Black faces who would represent our interests. Those representatives would fight to improve the quality of Black life. Beginning in the late 1960s and continuing to this very day, many Africans believe that the resolution to our problems lies with the election/appointment of the next Black mayor, governor, police chief, US senator or President of the United States. But the reality is that this "electoral" process was the US equivalent of flag independence. This can be most clearly seen by examining the tale of Black mayors.

From the election of Kenneth Gibson in Newark in the late 1960s through the unexpected defeat of New York City's David Dinkins in November 1993, one thing has been abundantly clear - these mayors were appointed captains of the Titanic right after it hit the iceberg. They were confronted with cities with a disappearing or non-existent tax base and a deteriorating physical infrastructure. They were put in place to manage a city population which increasingly resembled them, Black and poor. They were to catch the heat for the "structural adjustments," i.e. cuts in essential services - health, education, housing - that were necessary to extract the maximum profit from these urban plantations. And when the profit

margin was no longer satisfactory, the industrial and financial magnates moved elsewhere, both in and outside the US, in search of profit. Our Black faces in high places are left, with a big salary, slick suits and a few "perks" to placate an increasingly unruly population. To call in the National Guard in a futile attempt to defy the law of history that "oppression breeds resistance."

To leave us politically unarmed by offering explanations devoid of the truth - that those who make the decisions are not elected by anyone.

Our task in the US is to achieve our liberation. Our Pan-African consciousness tells us that our liberation is a collective one and that we must share our experiences of oppression if we are to win sooner rather than later. The exposure and defeat of neo-colonialism, wherever and in whatever form it occurs, is an important step in that process.

## FRANCE & ALGERIA

*cont. from page 13*

Algiers and urged Americans to leave if they did not have compelling reasons to remain.

Although 8 of the 11 foreigners slain by militants since September were not French, no country feels more vulnerable to events in Algeria than France. This is not only because of the large Algerian population living here now, but also because of historical and emotional ties...

The Algerian war of independence, which began in the mid-1950s, was profoundly traumatic for France. While it was being fought, France was deeply divided between supporters and opponents of independence. And when it was lost in 1962, one million French Algerians fled to France....

In January 1992, after the Algerian Government canceled a second round of parliamentary elections that seemed certain to bring the Islamic Salvation Front to power, France reluctantly endorsed the move, hoping the junta could win some popularity by reviving the economy.

But, since then, more than 1,700 Algerians - mainly soldiers and police, but also journalists and intellectuals - have died in a simmering civil war in which the fundamentalists have displayed a growing level of military organization while the country's economic and political crisis has deepened.

Today, France has good reason to worry. It sees Islamic fundamentalists stepping up their proselytizing among the 3.5 million Muslims living here, it no longer believes the Algerian junta can crush the Islamic Salvation Front and it knows that an Islamic takeover in Algeria would bring a flood of refugees into France.

## Happy Birthday!

*cont. from page 8*

and performance status to another level. In the US, Paris, London, or anywhere, people listening to Joe's singing with the Basie orchestra had great difficulty maintaining self control.

From 1974 to 78, Joe is listed by international Downbeat critics as best male singer. This includes ballads. Yes ballads!

The December 12th Movement proudly salutes this profound performer of our great and enduring culture, on his 75th birthday.

The December 12th Movement is 69 years younger than Joe Williams. But we are able to draw strength from this dispenser and student of our cultural heritage. The strength and determination to be free and self-determined through revolutionary struggle. The struggles of Malcolm, Fanon, Maurice Bishop, Garvey and Fred Hampton.

*Everyday,  
Everyday I have the blues.*

## Amnesty Petition

*cont. from page 14*

Puerto Rican prisoners violates the OAS charter as well as other fundamental international human rights instruments," said Michael Deutsch, legal director of the Center for Constitutional Rights and one of the attorneys who brought the OAS petition.

Accompanying both petitions were letters from numerous prominent individuals and organizations, including the Puerto Rican Bar Association; the National Conference of Black Lawyers; the National Lawyers Guild; the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, Australian parliamentarias; the International Association Against Torture; the Argentina chapter of the Anti-Imperialist Tribunal of Our America; the mayor of the City of New York and the New York City Council; several churches, including the United Church of Christ and the United Methodist Church, and individuals from Africa, Latin America and Europe.

Over 15,000 letters signed by people throughout the US, Puerto Rico and the world have been sent to President Clinton and Attorney General Reno seeking immediate and unconditional amnesty.

Now that the formal application has been submitted, the campaign will continue to collect letters and resolutions of support and build momentum to win the prisoners' immediate and unconditional release.

*For more information contact Ofensiva '92, Apartado Postal 02190, Rio Piedras, PR 00928; in the U.S., National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War, 1112 N. California, Chicago IL 60647, 312/278-0885.*

## Front for Liberation

*cont. from page 14*

imperialist struggle being waged by Third World peoples in many parts of the world. Of course, this means we have to once again develop a militant political organization that will challenge US colonialism and organize New Afrikans to offensively pursue the ultimate objective of national independence. This task has to be greater than a survival program pending revolution: as all survival programs are in essence defensive in posture, based on the ideal to survive is to defend against attacks, but survival programs do not forge a movement, only sustain an existence.

Therefore, to build Frolinan is to push forward the quest of national emancipation, as Frolinan's national strategy is not based simply on survival pending revolution, but rather, building the revolution to survive. This position on survival is not relegated to a defensive posture, but develops an offensive Program for Decolonization, establishing a revolutionary theory and program to militantly fight for national independence.

I have taken the initiative to write this proposal and treaty for our numbers and revolutionary nationalists to build upon, for us to unite our forces under a single program and national strategy. Since the destruction of the Black Panther Party, our movement has fallen in the hands of passive resisters, losing its vitality, momentum, and revolutionary fervor. It is now necessary to rekindle the spirit of militant resistance and rebuild our revolutionary movement. Build Frolinan, our revolutionary nationalist front, comprising the needed national organizations and programs that will assure not only our survival, but also, our inevitable victory in establishing the Republic of New Afrika in the western hemisphere.

This document is presented for revolutionary nationalists to discuss and seek the means and methods to create conditions to manifest the National Strategy of Frolinan. Of course, this is my conception of what needs to be done based on varied discussions amongst Comrades, and basic analysis of the general situation of opportunism, liberalism, and sectarianism effecting our overall struggle. Therefore, this document is not all conclusive or inclusive of our needs in struggle; rather, it seeks to forge the basis to establish a durable foundation by which we may unite our talents and resources to build Frolinan. Hence, this document is offered as a pivot to create the needed center of gravity from which we can rally our forces, and move forward in unity and struggle....

*Written as the author's preface to a paper discussing Frolinan.*

## Letters To The Editor

## View From the Field...

Malcolm X in his classical presentation of class struggle within the Black Nation. Still, we see the death of a Black Negro as part of the mass of Black people whose relationship to the American way was the sting of the tail.

It is this viewpoint and support ATM welcomes and encourages. From you in the racist schools to the penal colonies, from the barracks of American mercenary troops to the death houses called hospitals.

*Name withheld of the Author*

Dear Sir/Ma'am,

How are you and your beautiful staff doing these days? I sincerely hope that all of you are well, and enjoying the best of health, and all that is good. I am hanging on in there, and hoping for the best for me and our people.

My name is Anthony E. Cash #42517-004, and I am formerly from Manhattan, New York, but I have been residing in Miami, Florida for the past seventeen years, and I also have been out of New York City for the past twenty-eight years, so I am really a stranger to the City right now.

Five of those years that I spent in Florida, I was incarcerated in the maximum-security prison at Raiford, Florida, it was pure hell being in there. I witnessed cruelty in its most destructive form. In September of 1984 there was an attempt on my life, but for the good graces and mercies of THE ALMIGHTY CELESTIAL CREATOR, I was able to survive that incident, but the "flashbacks" keep coming back. Yes, I witnessed

some very unpleasant things happened to our Black brothers in that State maximum security prison, and what's so bad about this is that I did not commit the crimes for which I was convicted and sent to prison for.

Suffice it to say that, we have to put all of our petty differences aside, and come together for the better economic empowerment for ourselves and for our people. I am very respectfully requesting to be placed on your subscription list, and I would also appreciate any back issues which you can forward to me in here please. Our Black brothers get no justice, and the US constitutional rights were not designed with our Black people in mind when they were drafted. And the civil rights laws have been taken away by the last two former Republican US presidents' administrations.

Which means that, all of those Black brothers/sisters who have died and struggled, and who were viciously abused, and imprisoned, have died and struggled in vain. Just how many black organizations

and Black people out there fighting for the Black brothers/sisters in the US prisons? We do not have any so-called Black political leaders, or community Black leaders who can demand the white Anglo-Saxons to release one Black brother/sister from these US penal institutions. Show me one.

White America rebuild Japan, Germany, and Europe after World War II, and white America even gave the native American Indians land, but white America did not give their Black slaves anything but lynchings, and hard work, now America is fixing to provide over \$2 billion to Russia. America is even helping to rebuild Panama. This money that is going to Russia, is Black taxpayers hard earned money, that can be used to help Black homeless people right here in America, and etc. Jesse Jackson and the rest of those Uncle Toms can go all over the middle East to free prisoners of war, but they are blind to the plight of the imprisoned Black brothers/sisters locked away for years in the American penal institutions, and mental institutions.

Marching, and protesting by Black people in this country only makes us the laughing stock of our enemies; we should stop begging white people to do for us what we can do for ourselves. We must also educate our children to the coming terror to destroy all of our people.

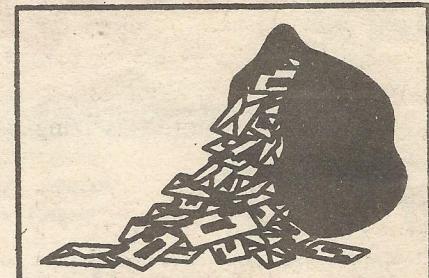
If it is of no inconvenience to you, please pass my name and address on to any brother/sister who would want to correspond with me. Your efforts to please assist me in these matters would be very much appreciative. Hoping to hear from you all soon. Please acknowledge receipt of this letter. Thank you Sir/Ma'am. In the meantime, be especially good to yourself. One love. One heart. One mind. Peace and happiness.

Respectfully submitted,  
Anthony E. Cash

Dear December 12th Movement,

Comradely greetings! I very much appreciate your organization and newspaper. Nobody is in the streets like December 12th Movement and it is very heartening. So, I am writing to wonder how to support your movement. I do not want to join because I am not in enough political agreement, but I very much like specific projects and I am wondering if you all accept donations for projects, or are you only member supported. What other material needs do you have? Please write in ATM what your supporters can do to better support you, materially and politically. What should checks be made out to? Lastly, my favorite part of ATM is hearing the young people write in, the editorials and news from and about the political prisoners. So, keep up the great work and thank you very much for being here for us all.

Name withheld



Mail all letters to:  
ATM - 28 Vesey St., Suite 2298, NY, NY 10007

Dear Reader/Friends/Supporters,

My plight is very grave and I would like to receive your kind support, be it in the form of writing letters, advice, you name it. Many of you have heard from me before. Those who have not, please allow me to introduce myself. My name is Zolo Agona Azania. I am a conscious New Afrikan Citizen. I was arrested on August 11, 1981, falsely accused for the alleged killing of a Gary police officer during a bank robbery. On May 25, 1982, I was sentenced to death by electrocution in the Indiana chair.

I was framed on these trumped up charges, although there were no witnesses to the shooting, and a paraffin gunshot residue test taken shortly after being arrested, showed that I hadn't fired a gun. I have two (2) co-defendants. No one signed any incriminating statements and they both were convicted and sentenced to sixty (60) years.

On October 29, 1984, my direct appeal to the Indiana State Supreme Court was denied. I filed a petition for post-conviction relief on September 23, 1985. The court in which the trial was held denied it on February 23, 1985. The court in which the trial was held denied it on February 23, 1988. I appealed the denial to the State Supreme Court on July 27, 1989.

On August 27, 1990, the State Supreme Court remanded my case back to the trial court to conduct an in camera inspection of the suppressed exculpatory evidence favorable to my defense. The political police and prosecutors intentionally withheld material evidence that could prove my innocence. For example, they withheld the results of the paraffin gunshot residue test from me and the original trial jury.

On July 30, 1992, the trial court judge denied my post-conviction relief petition again without even considering my side of the case. The judge is an obvious racist. I have the names of other people who were arrested the same day I was, but they were later released. Plus, the political police and state prosecutors admitted destroying some evidence. I am now in the process of appealing this denial to the State Supreme Court.

Having an adequate, reliable supply of funds for my legal defense on retrial is vital to all of us, if there is to be a semblance of democracy and justice. Please make photo copies of this information and circulate it to others like a chain letter.

Thank you.

Rebuild to win!  
Zolo Agona Azania

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## Straight Ahead!